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THE APOSTOLIC SUCCESSION IN THE LIGHT OF THE HISTORY OF THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH

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I

What is the doctrine of Apostolic Succession? In the form in which it has been held since the time of Augustine, it has meant that the authority which our Lord gave to His twelve Apostles was given by them to certain successors, who in turn gave it to their successors, until at the present time the Bishops of the Catholic Church can trace their spiritual lineage link by link back to the time of the Apostles themselves. The present authority of Catholic Bishops, that is to say, of those who acknowledge or claim this succession comes not directly and immediately from God by spiritual intuition; it comes through a chain of men across the centuries who mediate it by virtue of the authority given them by predecessors who had the right to give it from the one adequate source of authority, Christ and His Apostles.

It will simplify our discussion if it is realized immediately that the historical validity of that doctrine does not depend on the one crude medieval simplification of history which is the strawman commonly attacked. There is no educated believer in the doctrine who holds, as at certain periods of

history it has been held, that the monarchical episcopate of the fully developed Catholic Church sprang full grown into existence in the time of the Apostles, like Pallas from the head of Zeus. If to believe in the Apostolic Succession it is necessary to hold that there was always conformity to the three-fold ministry of bishops, priests, and deacons, without development through a period of inchoate beginnings and widespread diversity; if it is necessary to hold that there were Bishops everywhere in the later sense of the word from the Apostles' time to this, and that the immediate successors of the Apostles enjoyed the same authority as the Twelve, then surely the doctrine must be recognized as one which historical investigation has decisively discredited.

But for history to validate the doctrine it is not necessary to rule out the fact of development. The principle of the transmission of spiritual authority is the crux of the doctrine, and it is the historical validity of this which we propose to investigate. However inchoate and unsystematized the early ministry was, is it possible to hold that the present bishops of the historic episcopate can trace a tactual succession from officer to officer (whatever his title) without break to the Apostles themselves? Above all, is it valid historically for them to hold that their right to be Bishops comes by devolution from above, that is, from Christ through the succession of officers (of whatever name) in the whole course of Christian history?

It will be well to state the answer at once lest it be supposed that a strictly historical solution is possible. In the present state of knowledge no knock-down proof is possible either way. There are and probably always will be scholars, equally competent and equally determined to follow the facts wherever they may lead, who take exactly opposite sides with regard to the historical validity of the doctrine of Apostolic Succession. It has been said concerning the historical evidence available for the history of the primitive ministry during the period between the time of the Apostles and the second

century, when the doctrine of Apostolic Succession is explicitly accepted everywhere, that despite frequent shafts of illuminating light history passes pretty much through a dark tunnel.

No doubt to many it will seem that any doctrine which splits the field of scholarship must be so doubtful as to be discarded by intelligent men. But on the contrary, to those disposed toward it by other considerations, it seems quite in accordance with God's plan that in a matter of religion empirical scholarship should not have the last word. Always and everywhere the believer knows that a reasonable faith and not empirical proof is the foundation of religion. Apostolic Succession is a very secondary thing as compared to such a crucial matter as Christ's divinity; and yet no Christian believes that a man will be led to an acceptance of the Incarnation simply by an investigation of the New Testament any more than he feels that any critical investigation of the New Testament can upset such belief. The attitude of the informed and intelligent Christian is never, "These facts prove that I am right," but rather, "These facts not only do not deny but are congruous with the faith which I have received, and which I believe because it has brought new and unique values into the world." Needless to say, for the sake of Christianity itself an absolutely fearless investigation of the truth is necessary, and wherever the truth runs counter to belief, then belief must go.

There remains another necessary prelude before we come to a discussion of history. The background of many persons in countries with strong Protestant traditions will cause them to wonder why this doctrine can seem important to anyone. Is not Christianity, they will say, a matter of the inner man, and is not this emphasis on Church order, on purely mechanical and outward mechanism an unworthy thing, typical of ecclesiasticism in all times and ages, but something to be opposed by spiritual men, for whom the condition of the heart alone is important?

Now first of all it is worth while remarking that the attitude so widespread in this country, where Protestantism has, at least until recently, had the decisive upper hand, is really a minority opinion. I do not mean that numbers have any necessary relation to truth, but I do mean that if seven-tenths of Christianity holds a certain view, and that before 1500 A.D. the whole of Christianity, practically speaking, held it, it will surely be a healthy exercise of the imagination for persons whose tradition is against it, to try to understand why it was once prized by a majority of Christians and is still prized by all but a minority.

The first thing which can be said by one who holds the doctrine to be important, is that those bodies which have cut themselves off from it have been severely handicapped because of the structural weakness that the loss has entailed. Thus it is obvious that in the modern world the structural strength of the Catholic episcopate has been an all-important factor in preserving the faith from capitulation to temporary but at the time apparently permanent phases of thought. On the other hand, the loss of the Catholic and Apostolic order has been attended by an alarming tendency to split into numerous sects, with the result that the witness of Christianity in the world has been sadly weakened at home, and even more on the mission field. At the present moment it seems clear that the one practical basis for reunion which can be permanent is a return to that Catholic and Apostolic order. That this is no exaggeration will be felt by anyone who reads the record of the discussions at Lausanne in 1929. Dr Cadman, a Congregationalist, said poignantly, "Am I right or am I wrong that the historic episcopate is not just one projected scheme of reunion, it is the only one which holds out any hope of success?" And if it be contended that Episcopacy is one thing and Apostolic Succession another, we may answer that the reason why the historic episcopate has survived through the centuries, and has again and again been the means of avoiding schism, is that loyalty to it has been

based on other than purely utilitarian considerations. It is the sense of the value of a succession which is believed to be Christ's chosen channel of mediating His authority; it is the sanction of this faith which gives the episcopate its authority. It is a conservative statement of the truth to say that the validity and strength of the episcopate is intimately associated with the doctrine of Apostolic Succession.

There is another fact that needs to be appreciated. It is the absolutely sound psychology of holding that on this earth spiritual forces are normally mediated to us through material means. The argument which declares Christianity to be concerned solely with spiritual things and maintains, therefore, that belief in a visible Church is an unworthy contamination of the pure spiritual Gospel, is a false argument. It is just as false as to say that because 'so and so' is such a 'spiritual' person, it is inconceivable that he should have a physical body. The Catholic sacramental principle which declares that normally in this world spiritual things are mediated by physical means, and that the physical has a just and noble part to play in connection with the spiritual—this is the true principle. And notice how germane this is to belief in the Christ as Incarnate Lord. It is significant that the supreme revelation of God to man should have been through a man of flesh and blood, physical as well as spiritual. In fact the first great heresy Christianity had to face was the heresy which declared that God would not so contaminate Himself, and that Christ only seemed to be a man. If that was a dreadful error, why is not the complement of that belief, namely, that the Church is only a spiritual company of faithful believers and not a living organism, physical as well as spiritual—why is not that belief also a dreadful error? The cast of mind which is not prejudiced against Apostolic Succession is a reasonable cast of mind, for it sees how congruous with probability is the idea of a visible Church, and if a visible Church then a visible ministry, tactually connected with the Apostles themselves. No doubt the danger of over-

concentration upon ecclesiasticism has been very real in certain periods of history, just as over-concentration upon the physical world has been one-sided and unhealthy at many periods, conspicuously our present one. But surely in both spheres the healthy balance for this embodied and material world is a spirituality indwelling and dominating the physical vehicle which clothes and articulates it. Von Hügel summed the matter up in a telling illustration: A skeleton taken by itself is an ugly thing, but even Cleopatra in all the splendor of her youth had such a necessary and indispensable skeleton.

One more preliminary. If there is a crying scandal at the present moment in the religious situation, it is that with noble exceptions preachers preach themselves instead of the Gospel; they stand up before men upon whom they depend for their salary, and in seven cases out of ten they water their religion down. "Depending on the people," wrote Newman, "they become the creatures of the people."¹ No greater defense against this danger can be found than the lively realization that through the laying on of hands the credentials of the Apostles themselves have been given, and that the priest stands not as an employee of a congregation but as a commissioned ambassador of Christ Himself.

II

Many scholars question the doctrine on the ground that there seems to be evidence to show that the earliest officers of importance after the Apostles were prophets, men who got their authority by direct inspiration. Thus in the epistles of Paul, the earliest New Testament documents, and hence our best source material, there is evidence that though a ministry of order was known by St Paul, it was of such secondary importance to him at first that the word "presbyter" (πρεσβύτερος) is not used at all and the words "bishop" (ἐπίσκοπος) and "deacon" (διάκονος) are used only once each.² Moreover,

¹ *Tracts for the Times*, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 2.

² Phil. 1: 1.

the *locus classicus* for the ministry in the Pauline letters, I Cor. 12: 28, "God hath set some in the Church, first apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly teachers, then miracles, then gifts of healings, *helps, governments*, divers kinds of tongues," shows how secondary in importance the presbyters, bishops, and deacons were, for "*helps and governments*" which apply to them are far down the list while prophets come directly after apostles. The prominence of these prophets, who received their *charisma* or grace direct from God without any ordination by the Apostles, is illustrated in the Book of Acts. Thus prophets from Jerusalem seem to have been the dominant persons in Antioch.³

Moreover it is difficult to reconcile the Catholic theory of the priesthood, which looks upon ordination as essential for the consecration of the Eucharistic elements, with the fact that such was not the case in the Primitive Church. Unordained persons were in the absence of Apostles the normal celebrants.

The *Didache* (or *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*), a Syrian manual of Church order and administration of the early second century, declares, "Suffer the prophets to hold Eucharist as they will."⁴ And the fact that bishops and deacons were also sometimes prophets⁵ does not alter the fact that often they were not. The attempt on the part of some scholars to show that in this matter the *Didache* illustrates an entirely isolated and unrepresentative community is unsuccessful,⁶ for from I Corinthians it seems clear that the qualification for being the celebrant at the Eucharist was not ordination but was rather "to give thanks well."⁷ Finally,

³ Acts 11: 27; 13: 1.

⁴ *Didache*, 13: 3.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 15: 1.

⁶ But Streeter is wrong when he claims that the *Didache* authorizes the appointment by the community of bishops and presbyters in communities where they did not already exist, inferring thereby that ordination by the presbyterate into the Succession did not take place. Cf. *The Primitive Church*, p. 156.

⁷ I Cor. 14: 17.

the Epistle to Titus ⁸ gives evidence that the same situation held in Crete. The letter urges Titus to appoint presbyters in every city which did not have them. The fact that there were congregations without presbyters proves that the Eucharist must have been held without them, for the Eucharist was from the beginning so much the Christian service that no Church would have been considered Christian if it had lacked it.⁹

This evidence, so thoroughly at variance with the developed theories of Catholicism, has led some scholars to dismiss the idea of Apostolic Succession as unhistorical. In the earlier Epistles of St Paul the ministry of order is so secondary that the inference is often drawn that in the most primitive period it did not exist, and, further, that it arose when local congregations appointed them to help with administration.

III

Our question then resolves itself to this. First, was there in the primitive period any ministry of order, and, second, did it derive its authority from any connection with the Apostles or was it the creation solely by democratic election and appointment of the local congregation?

It will be best to deal with the second question first, and here Canon Streeter seems at first blush to have found in the *Didache* evidence to show that in Syria, at any rate, bishops and deacons were appointed in some places by the local congregations. He implies that probably this was by an exclusively democratic process of the congregation without any ordination by officers representing the whole Church. Canon Streeter thinks that a purely prophetic ministry would in this way sometimes be converted into a ministry of order. He quotes ¹⁰ as a crucial passage in favor of this theory:

⁸ Titus 1: 5. Cf. B. S. Easton, "Presbyters and the Eucharist," in *The Churchman*, Nov. 21, 1931.

⁹ B. S. Easton, *ibid.*

¹⁰ *The Primitive Church*, pp. 151, 156, 222.

"Appoint for yourselves, therefore, bishops and deacons . . . despise them not." But the full text shows that the meaning is, most naturally understood, quite different, namely, "Appoint for yourselves bishops and deacons, *worthy of the Lord, meek men and not lovers of money.*" The real point is that the presbytery must be persuaded not to let unworthy men receive election and ordination. And when the normal character of the Jewish presbyterate (the model of the Christian ministry of order) is examined, as we shall presently see, the theory that the ministry of order arose simply by appointment of the local congregation will be seen to be very unlikely.

As a prelude to a discussion of the character of the Jewish and Christian presbyterate it is worthy of all possible emphasis that the almost unanimous testimony of the early records is that the primitive ministry was not democratic, in the sense that its authority was derived from the congregation. Whether the ministry was of order or of direct inspiration, its authority came never solely or primarily from the people, that is, from below, but rather from above.¹¹ Thus the essence of the prophet's character and influence was that he was called not by the congregation but by God.

Likewise with regard to the Apostles, it is obviously demonstrable that they derived their authority not from the community but from Christ. The community of believers did not create the Apostolic office. The Apostles were rather the Christ-appointed leaders of the community. The very name Apostle (from ἀποστέλλω, 'to send') bears witness to the fact. They were messengers, representatives, delegates from Christ as He was from God. Throughout the New Testament there runs the consistent note of Mission from God to Christ,¹² from Christ to the Apostles,¹³ from the Apostles to the world. And together with the sense of mission went

¹¹ Cf. C. H. Turner, *Studies in Early Church History*, pp. 12 ff.

¹² Mark 9: 37; John 6: 38.

¹³ Mark 3: 4; Matt. 10: 16; Luke 10: 3; John 20: 21.

authority to preach,¹⁴ and to heal,¹⁵ and to rule,¹⁶ though the authority carried with it the strictest obligation of lowly service and deep humility.¹⁷

The same sense of Mission is found in the Book of Acts. To be sure, the filling of the place of Judas in the Apostolic College¹⁸ shows the whole body of the Church in Jerusalem, under the initiating and directing hand of St Peter, nominating two candidates from among the men who had belonged to the fellowship during the whole public ministry of Jesus, and after prayer casting lots that God's choice might be known—this heavy instrumentality of the general body is a healthy preservative against over-simplification. But the accumulative evidence of Acts is that the Church is built about the nucleus of the hierarchy, and not that the hierarchy is the gradual product of the expanding Church. Thus Acts 2: 42, "And they continued steadfastly in the Apostles' teaching and fellowship;" Acts 5: 12-15, "And by the hands of the Apostles were many signs and wonders wrought among the people; . . . the people magnified them . . . insomuch that they even carried out the sick into the streets, and laid them on beds and couches, that, as Peter came by, at least his shadow might overshadow some one of them."

One more incident among many¹⁹ to show this principle of Mission in the Acts is the appointment of "the seven." The congregation appointed, but the *Apostles* ordained by prayer and the laying on of hands.²⁰

¹⁴ Mark 3: 14.

¹⁵ Mark 6: 7.

¹⁶ Luke 22: 30; Matt. 19: 28.

¹⁷ Mark 10: 44; Matt. 20: 27.

¹⁸ Acts 1: 15.

¹⁹ Acts 6: 3-6; 8: 14-19; 10: 44-48; 11: 15-18; 14: 23; 19: 5, 6.

²⁰ However wrong tradition may be in seeing here the origin of the diaconate by reading back a later office into a primitive and undifferentiated one, it is equally wrong to dismiss this incident on the ground that the occasion was simply the appointment of directors of charitable relief and not officers with any spiritual functions. No doubt their appointment did have much to do with relieving the Apostles of administrative duties, just as Rural Deans and Suffragans relieve

This testimony gives a preliminary probability to the theory that where presbyters and bishops existed, they possessed some other credentials than election and appointment by the local congregation. Nor does the fact that some presbyters played a double role, and were also prophets, indicate that prophecy was a portfolio to the ministry of order.²¹

The decisive evidence that presbyters were normally ordained members of a succession is to be found in the attitude of the primitive Church to its continuity with Judaism.²² It was not the primitive Christian conception that Jesus had founded a *new* Church.²³ He was the Messiah of Israel, and they were the true Israelites because they had accepted Him. The Jews had rejected their Messiah and so were apostates. The Christian society, then, conceiving itself as the faithful remnant, the only legitimate organic continuation of the true Israel, would naturally use as its type and pattern for the ministry the organization of Judaism. And this, as we shall presently show, is exactly what we find.

The Jewish Sanhedrin²⁴ in Jerusalem and in practically Diocesan today; but that does not alter the fact that Rural Deans and Suffragans also have important spiritual functions. That this was also true in the case of "the seven" is indicated by what is known of the later history of two of them. Stephen was martyred for his preaching; Philip was a missionary to Samaria and became known as "the evangelist."

²¹ It is, however, true, as Easton reminds us in his article, "Presbyters and the Eucharist," that confessors were in the third century automatically admitted to the presbyterate without ordination. Thus in Alexandrian Canon Law: "If anyone is counted worthy for the sake of the faith to stand before a heathen court and for Christ's sake to endure punishment, such a one is counted worthy by God of the presbyterate. He shall not be ordained by the bishop; his confession is his ordination."

²² The following discussion of the Jewish background of the Christian Ministry is based on the researches of Dr Burton Scott Easton as recorded in two articles in *The Churchman*, "Presbyters and the Eucharist," Nov. 21, 1931 (already referred to), and "The Meaning of Apostolic Succession," May 2, 1931.

²³ Evidence for this is clear, e.g., in the Book of Revelation (c. 93 A.D.). The woman in chap. 12 is Israel. Her child caught up to the throne of God is the Christ. It is the same woman before and after the birth of the Messiah. Christians are the true Jews.

²⁴ Sanhedrin, from Greek *Synedrion*, means literally "those who sit together." Cf. B. S. Easton, "The Meaning of Apostolic Succession."

every town and village of Palestine is the prototype of the earliest Christian ministry of order. What was the organization and function of these Sanhedrins? They consisted of a body of presbyters, seven in villages, seventy in Jerusalem. Their great function was to interpret the Law according to "the tradition of the presbyters."²⁵ They were not primarily leaders of worship in the synagogue (in fact any ten Jews could constitute a synagogue), but were the all-important interpreters of the Law, able to declare what was binding and what was not, judges, rulers, teachers. Moreover their method of appointment was self-perpetuating, and it included a religious ceremony of ordination by prayer and laying on of hands. The presbyterate was a definite succession of officers held to have existed from the time of Moses; so tenaciously was that succession held that it still continues and every orthodox Rabbi cherishes it today. The foundation of the presbyterate was as much a divine institution as the priesthood. In Exodus 24 it is related how God told Moses to bring seventy presbyters with him up Mount Sinai to receive the divine revelation. The character of the ordination ceremony of presbyters is also clear from the Old Testament. Thus in Numbers 27: 18ff, "The Lord said to Moses, Take thee Joshua, the son of Nun, a man in whom is the spirit, and lay thine hands upon him, that all the congregation of the children of Israel may obey." Again in Deuteronomy 34: 9, "And Joshua the son of Nun was full of the spirit of wisdom, for Moses had laid his hands upon him: and the children of Israel hearkened unto him, and did as the Lord commanded Moses."

That the primitive Church did in fact follow this model is seen from various sources of evidence. (1) The character of the Church in Jerusalem was a direct parallel of the Jewish Sanhedrin there. Just as the college of presbyters in Jerusalem was presided over by the High Priest,²⁶ or High Priests,

²⁵ Mark 7: 3; Matt. 15: 2 ff.

²⁶ The priesthood was ceasing to have the highest significance for Judaism at this period, for it was an hereditary caste showing signs of degeneracy. The destruction of the Temple in 70 A.D. did not vitally affect the religion. Cf. Easton, *l.c.*

so we find a Christian college of presbyters presided over by James, the Lord's brother, or by "the Apostles."²⁷ (2) The ordination prayer used by the Catholic Church until the 4th century is a further decisive witness to the fact that the primitive Church outside of Jerusalem and outside Palestine used the prototype of the Jewish presbyterate for its own ministry of order. Thus the oldest extant ordination prayers, viz. that found in the *Church Order of Hippolytus*,²⁸ representing the practice in the vicinity of Rome circa 215 A.D., that of Antioch²⁹ 375 A.D., and of Egypt 350 A.D., all reflect the Jewish model. In each is found the explicit declaration of the establishment of the presbyterate by Moses, along with the petition that the presbyter may rule well, e.g. that he may expound the law and maintain the tradition.³⁰ There is nothing about dispensing sacraments, so fundamental to the developed Catholic idea of the priesthood.³¹

The idea of succession with the transmission of authority from above is not, then, something due to late importation by a developed ecclesiasticism. The idea of Apostolic

²⁷ Mark 14: 53 and Acts 24: 1; 25: 15 parallel Acts 11: 30; 15: 2, 6, 22, 23.

²⁸ Dom Conolly, *The Egyptian Church Order*, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1916, p. 178. Reference quoted by Easton, *l.c.*

²⁹ *Apostolic Constitutions*, viii. 17. Reference quoted by Easton, *l.c.*

³⁰ The relevant passages from the *Egyptian Church Order* are, "O God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, look upon this thy servant, and impart to him the Spirit of grace, and counsel of the presbytery; that *he may aid and rule Thy people* with a pure heart; as Thou didst look upon Thy chosen people, and *didst command Moses that he should choose presbyters* whom Thou didst fill with Thy spirit." Easton, *l.c.*

³¹ Particularly the Roman, for the Ordinal declares the essential function of the priesthood to be the consecration of the Eucharistic elements.

Ignatius does not seem to imply that a presbyter was necessary for the Eucharist. It is simply and only the bishop's consent which determines a valid Eucharist. *Smyrnaeans* viii. 1: "Count that alone a steadfast Eucharist which is under the bishop or under someone to whom he appoints it."

Tertullian provides "evidence that the Eucharistic administration is confined to the clergy by ecclesiastical rule and not by divine law." He declares it to be custom and nothing more that the sacrament is received "from the hands of none but our presidents," although the Eucharist was "established" at a meal-time, and was "commanded by the Lord to all." *Chaplet* 3 (c. A.D. 210); quoted by Easton, in "Presbyters and the Eucharist."

Succession, at least in the sense of transmission of authority by devolution from above, comes from Judaism and is part of the great debt which Christianity owes to the religion of which it is the consummation.

The nature of the Christian adaptation of the Jewish presbyterate and the clear exposition of succession from the Apostles is found in the Pastoral Epistles, which "represent the dominant tendency in the Church sometime about the year 80 A.D."³² In II Timothy 2: 2 we read, "The things which thou has heard from me among many witnesses, the same commit thou to faithful men." "This," writes Professor Easton, "is the classic passage for Apostolic Succession: a succession of approved teachers who pass on from generation to generation what the Apostles taught. These teachers are ordained to their office by the imposition of hands, either by an Apostle alone (II Tim. 1: 6, 'Stir up the gift of God which is in thee by the laying on of *my* hands') or else by the presbytery" (I Tim. 4: 14, "Neglect not the gift that was given thee by prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery"). "And by such ordination into such a succession they themselves become presbyters" (I Tim. 5: 17, "Let the presbyters that rule well be counted worthy of a double honor, especially those who labour in the word and in teaching").³³

Thus we see duly appointed presbyters as the normal officers of Christian communities well before the end of the first century. The fact, however, that many scholars doubt the Pauline authorship of the Pastoral Epistles, and account for the undoubted Pauline elements by the hypothesis that genuine Pauline fragments have been incorporated into letters of a later date, makes it impossible to use the evidence of the Pastorals as necessarily applying to conditions within the Church before the death of the Apostles Peter and Paul.

What evidence is there, then, of the widespread existence of

³² Easton, "The Meaning of the Apostolic Succession."

³³ *Ibid.*

presbyters in the Christian communities outside of Palestine before the death in Rome of that Church's two Apostolic leaders? This is important, and it would add weight to the contention of opponents of Apostolic Succession if it could be shown that the primitive practice in Europe and Asia Minor had no relation to Palestinian practice.

The available evidence is as follows: "The Book of Acts tells us that on St Paul's missionary journey he and Barnabas "appointed presbyters in every Church."³⁴ The fact that these officers seem to be largely ignored in the Pauline Epistles and, to say the least, have a distinctly second place, is not decisive against their existence because the first task of the missionary was evangelistic preaching and for this function the prophet next to the Apostle was the all-important instrument. It was only after considerable numbers of converts had been won that the need for a settled ministry of order became insistent. That this occurred and that the presbyterate was introduced before the death of St Peter and St Paul in *extra*-Palestinian communities is undeniable, at least as far as the cities of Philippi, Ephesus, Corinth, and Rome are concerned.

Thus, the salutation of St. Paul's letter to the Philippians, "To all the saints . . . with the *bishops* and *deacons*," proves the fact for that locality. And we get equally decisive evidence from the Book of Acts for the existence of presbyter-bishops at Ephesus in St Paul's lifetime. A passage of the "we" sections of the Book of Acts, which as radical a critic as Bacon declared to be the writing of an eyewitness, describes St Paul as stopping at Miletus on his last journey to Jerusalem in order to call to him "the presbyters of the Church"³⁵ of Ephesus, to whom he declares, "Take heed unto yourselves, and to all the flock, in which the Holy Ghost hath made you *bishops*, to shepherd the Church of God (ἐπισκόπους, ποιμαίνειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ).

³⁴ Acts 14: 23.

³⁵ Acts 20: 17.

Finally from *I Clement*, written in Rome about 96 A.D., we get the evidence as regards the cities of Rome and Corinth. Streeter, a scholar anything but prone to exaggerate the hieratical character of the early Church, writes thus, "Since Clement wrote little more than thirty years after the death of Paul, and at the date of writing was doubtless one of the senior members of the Church, his statement that the existing college of presbyters was descended from that of Apostolic times by a method of coöptation by those already in office (subject to the consent of the people) is probably correct—so far as the Churches of Rome and Corinth are concerned. Paul does seem to have appointed colleges of episcopoi and deacons."³⁶ From this letter we get clear evidence of Apostolic appointment and Apostolic Succession. The fact that presbyters or bishops existed as well in Ephesus and Philippi, combined with the high probability that their character was along the lines of the Jewish presbyterate, justifies the conclusion as more probable than any other that even in the time of the Apostles themselves the ministry of

³⁶ *The Primitive Church*, p. 225. The relevant passages in *I Clement* are:

xliv. 2, "The Christ . . . is from God and the Apostles from Christ. . . . Having therefore received their commands . . . they preached from district to district, from city to city, and they appointed their first converts, testing them by the Spirit, to be bishops and deacons of the future believers. And this was no new method."

xliv. 1, "Our Apostles also knew, through our Lord Jesus Christ, that there would be strife for the title of bishop. For this cause . . . they appointed those who have been already mentioned, and afterwards added the codicil that if they should fall asleep, other approved men (*δεδοκιμασμένοι ἄνδρες*) should succeed to their ministry. We consider therefore that it is not just to remove from their ministry those who were appointed by them, or later by other eminent men (*ὑφ' ἐτέρων ἐλλογιμῶν*)."

Some scholars see here evidence that there was already a distinction between those in the succession and those of the succession able to ordain. Streeter calls this special pleading (*The Primitive Church*, p. 223). Lowther Clarke asks then "why Clement should have employed elegant variation (between 'approved men' and 'eminent men')? The structure of the sentences seem to me to show that the 'eminent men' have a status surpassing that of the local ministry. . . . The eminent men may be legitimately taken to mean 'Apostles' in the wider sense," e.g. men like Timothy and Titus after the death of Paul. See his chapter, "The Origins of Episcopacy," in *Episcopacy Ancient and Modern*, S.P.C.K., 1930.

order already existed as the normal thing, alongside of the charismatic ministry of direct inspiration, and that this ministry of order stood in a succession deriving its authority by devolution from above. That the Messiah and his Messianic College of Twelve were the fountain head of the Succession did not deter the primitive Church with its predominantly Jewish racial nucleus from preserving the tradition of continuity with the 1000-year long history of the old presbyterate back to the days of Moses and Mount Sinai. Naturally when the Church spread beyond the synagogue nucleus in the Gentile communities, and itself became predominantly Gentile, the interest in maintaining the memory of the old tradition died out.

The history of the ministry of the primitive Church, then, presents the picture of a double stream, the charismatic, itinerant prophetic ministry, and a settled ministry of order, elected by the community but ordained into an hieratic succession. At first the charismatic ministry, with its startling gifts of prophecy and tongues, was the more important; but the obvious abuses, to which this ministry was always wide open, gradually led to its displacement. In a time when heresy was rife it was obviously inadvisable to grant anyone the right to authoritative utterance just because he claimed to speak by direct inspiration. Moreover, as the Church grew the temptation to lay claim to prophetic gifts must have been great. "Not everyone who speaks in a spirit is a prophet," says the *Didache*, "except he have the behaviour of the Lord."³⁷ "Let him not stay more than one day . . . ; if he stay three days, he is a false prophet; . . . if he ask for money, he is a false prophet." The reasons why the ministry of order gradually took over more and more of the functions of the prophetic ministry are not far to seek, and the development would seem to have been a wise response to the needs presented by changing conditions.

³⁷ *Didache* 11: 8.

IV

Exactly how the monarchical episcopate developed out of the presbyterate is not certain, and, it seems to us, is not the crux of the matter with regard to Apostolic Succession. That the government of the Church was at first, most frequently, government by a council of presbyters,³⁸ is no argument against Apostolic Succession or for Presbyterianism. In regard to Apostolic Succession the point of importance is that authority came by devolution from above from Christ through the Apostles as the primary source. It is no argument for Presbyterianism unless one holds that the Church should have remained a static replica of its primitive constitution, and that the development of the episcopate and its inheritance of the ordaining power was a perversion.

The development of the monarchical episcopate is only relevant to our problem in that the Apostolic Succession through bishops would receive some added sanction if it could be shown that the monarchical episcopate came into being under direct Apostolic sanction. We are justified in assuming that succession from bishop to bishop displaced that of the succession of presbyters when the danger of the Gnostic heresy forced the Church to effect greater concentration of authority. The monarchical episcopate, which in the Mother Church of Jerusalem had always existed in principle, gradually became the norm in the other cities of Palestine, Asia Minor, and the rest of the Christian world. The movement proceeded more quickly in Syria and Asia Minor and developed last of all in Rome itself.

Just because the development was slow in the Church of

³⁸ For Philippi, *Phil.* 1: 1; Polycarp, *Phil.* 5: 3; for Ephesus, *Acts* 20: 17; for Rome, *I Clement* 14: 3, 4; 47: 6; *The Shepherd of Hermas*, Vis. II. iv. 2. The case of Rome is important because of its bearing on the Papacy. The common apologetic of the Church of Rome is that Jesus gave infallible *magisterium* to St Peter as the first Bishop of Rome, and in turn to all his successors. If the early government of the Church of Rome was collegiate, that apologetic would have to be radically revised. There was not even a monarchical Bishop in Rome in the time of I Clement, much less an infallible Pope.

Rome, we get from it our best clue as to the lines of the development. At first the evidence is puzzling because we are presented with two apparently irreconcilable alternatives. On the one hand there is the evidence of Epiphanius and Irenaeus, derived from a Palestinian Christian Hegesippus who went to Rome about 165 A.D., that there were monarchical bishops in Rome from the time of St Peter; the actual names are given from Linus, St Peter's successor, on. But this evidence is contradicted by two earlier documents. The letter known as *I Clement*, written from the Church of Rome to the Church of Corinth *circa* 96 A.D., gives proof positive that the Church of Corinth was governed by a council of presbyters and not by a monarchical Bishop.³⁹ And it is implied that the situation in Rome is the same. Any possible doubt of that is put out of court by a second document, *The Shepherd of Hermas*, written at Rome at intervals during the first half of the second century. The first four Visions speak frequently⁴⁰ of the ministry in Rome and the references are always in the plural, "the presbyters," "the rulers," "the bishops," and never in the singular.

Professor La Piana of Harvard has suggested how these two sets of documents may be reconciled. Every council of presbyters probably had its chairman, like the board of directors of any modern corporation, even though his office may not have been formally recognized; and the men mentioned in the lists of Hegesippus and Irenaeus may have been the men remembered as the successive chairmen of the Council of Presbyters. In that case the history of the rise of the monarchical episcopate is the history of the evolution of a chairman with the position of a *primus inter pares*, to whom special executive functions are delegated, into an executive and overseer whose authority is inherent in his office.

³⁹ *I Clement* 44: 3, "It is not just to remove from the ministry *those* who were appointed"; 8: 1, "Ye, therefore, who laid the foundation of the sedition, submit yourselves *unto the presbyters* and receive chastisement."

⁴⁰ *Hermas*, Vis. II. iv. 2; III. ix. 7.

Not only does the chairman of the Sanhedrin probably supply us with the clue to the rise of the monarchical episcopate, but it warns us how difficult it will always be to date at any one point the actual emergence of the bishop in the later sense of the word. Conditions must have varied in different communities; but the evolution must have begun early, since it is an accomplished fact before the end of the first century. The author of the Johannine Epistles, whether he was the Apostle or not, writes as the Bishop of Ephesus with the tone and authority of a Metropolitan;⁴¹ and Diotrophes in III John must also have been a bishop in the full sense, for he can bar evangelists from his jurisdiction and can "cast out of the Church"⁴² those who sympathize with them. That this was no exceptional thing is indicated by the letters of Ignatius, *circa* 115 A.D. They show the monarchical episcopate in full swing, not only in Ephesus but in Antioch, Smyrna, Philippi, and in the smaller Churches of Asia Minor, Philadelphia, Magnesia, Tralles.

But what direct evidence have we that the monarchical episcopate existed in the time of the Apostles themselves? No one disputes the fact that James the brother of the Lord held a position in Jerusalem that was the type and model of the monarchical episcopate, and held it from shortly after the Resurrection until his martyrdom in 62 A.D. The significance of this is well summed up by Lowther Clarke: "As in point of fact the form of ministry which prevailed at Jerusalem eventually spread everywhere, we are justified in supposing that a method of Church government which grew up under the eyes of the Apostles was regarded as having their sanction."⁴³

The great Bishop Lightfoot thought there was further confirmation of direct Apostolic sanction for the monarchical episcopate in the evidence of Irenaeus as to the presence of

⁴¹ John 2: 1.

⁴² III John 1: 10.

⁴³ In Jenkins and Mackenzie, *Episcopacy Ancient and Modern*, p. 36.

John the Apostle in Asia "till the time of Trajan," ⁴⁴ *circa* 100 A.D. The Apostle, Lightfoot was convinced, had gone to Asia Minor at the commencement of the Jewish-Roman war which ended in the destruction of Jerusalem, 70 A.D. The widespread existence of monarchical episcopacy in Asia Minor at the end of the first and at the beginning of the second century was due, he thought, to the direct authority of the Apostle. Lightfoot's reasoning and his evidence for it is far from discredited and must still carry heavy weight, but there is just enough uncertainty to prevent absolute confidence in the conclusiveness of his theory.

But even if we accept the negative hypothesis that John the Apostle was martyred with James his brother ⁴⁵ and so never went to Asia Minor, and that the John of Asia Minor, the author of the Fourth Gospel and the Epistles, is another John, John the Elder mentioned by Papias—even then the monarchical episcopate in Asia Minor developed under the eye of one who was an intimate of the Apostles, and who had himself been a disciple of the Lord.

Any dispassionate appraisal of the growth of the monarchical episcopate must recognize it as a true development and not a corruption. It is impossible to deny that it was a response to a vital need of the early Church for a concentration of authority to save it from the perils of Gnostic heresy within and from Roman and Jewish persecution without. In the light of this fact it is hard not to believe that in sanctioning this development the immediate followers of Jesus and their intimates were true to His mind and were carrying out the best interests of His Kingdom.

⁴⁴ *Adv. Haereses* II. xxii. 5.

⁴⁵ The late Professor Bacon claimed this on the ground that Jesus' reply (Mark 10: 38) to the request of James and John that they might sit on his right and left hand in glory, "Are ye able to drink the cup that I drink? or be baptized with the baptism I am baptized with?" is a prophecy of martyrdom after the event.

Against this we can set the explicit statement of Irenaeus to Florinus that as a boy he (and Florinus with him) had heard Bishop Polycarp of Smyrna speak of his personal acquaintance with the Apostle John, *Fragmentum* ii (Op. 339).

TECHNIQUE IN CONDUCTING SERVICES

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To the average listener who attends a service of divine worship, it often seems that the minister or celebrant performs his duties in the most usual, confident and matter-of-fact manner, but to the keener critic, it is obvious that the well-governed and perfectly disciplined minister of the gospel undoubtedly has considered seriously and used naturally many well-known principles of reading, stage deportment, voice inflection and modulation, as well as tonal qualities, in his effort to render a sincere devotional presentation of the religious rites of the church.

This knowledge of accurate preparation would seem to present a technical problem for the priest-artist. Therefore we may well consider the technical principles underlying various forms of service.

Technique implies a system or manner of performing certain acts and duties in any given way. While the one supreme requirement for all ministers who would inspire their congregations in a true and holy meditation, is religious fervor, yet, in order to be able to secure that spiritual thought and devotion, the priest himself must perfect certain stable habits of reading, meditation and exhortation, and in some instances intonation, early in his preparatory course. These early experiences may be called mechanical processes, as they have to do with the reasons for doing and acting and the method of performing any function, through the use of mechanical organs related to the physical forces of the mind and the body. The physical and mental elements work hand in hand, co-operating in all action. By controlling the physical forces, it is possible to secure and to possess a greater and a finer mental control and stability of thought and expression.

From a careful analysis of technical processes, it is certain that the early responses and movements of any given act are decidedly voluntary and require a stabilized amount of conscious, nervous energy. The individual is aware of each performance, being noticeably awkward and uneasy in the production of each function. However, through regular repetition of accurate movements and responses, easy flexibility and naturalness of expression become involuntary functions, later establishing a series of responses known as habits of acting and of doing. Facile technique employs an intelligent use of habits of performance, acquired through routinized and methodical study by the individual in his daily preparation for public service.

What is technique in service? For instance, you may hear one priest render his service and you are deeply inspired by the very reverent and intelligent reading of his scriptures, the prayers, the commandments and every call to worship, yet, as his service progresses in easy form, the time element is maintained, his congregation has had ample opportunity to worship and to receive refreshment of mind and soul when the service is concluded.

On the other hand, you may have recourse to another type of service, where parts of the ritual are sung or spoken entirely too fast or too slowly, the congregation cannot keep up with the officiant or is advancing too rapidly with the prayers or songs and there is an air of uneasiness, noticeable mistakes are frequent and rather expected, the service may be too long for what has been said, or there has been a considerable rush to finish within a specified time limit. At the end of such a service of worship, one inquires, What is wrong? How could this be remedied? Wherein lies the fault?

In order to answer these questions, we must consider the deeper question, What is the proper equipment for conducting a service of divine worship?

Every student for the ministry should be a thorough technician in all fields relative to his art. He should be a

serious and sincere student, willing to study and to master detail in the minutest manner. He should know the standard vocalization exercises for the singing and speaking voice, the regular, systematic breathing principles that serve as valuable support for his exacting duties, and the true significance of every prayer and scripture lesson used in the liturgy. While it is not necessary to memorize the services completely, it is, however, essential that he should have the material so well in hand that he would be capable of rendering his office without notes or books. As long as one depends upon the use of printed matter for each and every utterance given, truly that person is a voluntary artist and is never wholly at ease with his scriptural message.

Technical consideration should be the basic principle of true art, whether that art is preaching, reading, singing, or speaking. It is impossible to acquire sufficient knowledge to be entirely confident within the space of a month or two, consequently students undertaking a theological course should feel the need of a thorough and long-continued, detailed preparation for their particular equipment. Moreover, such technical knowledge can be acquired by any priest at any time and may be of great help in enriching and improving his service of worship.

When one approaches a congregation, the mind and spirit of the individual can be the means of bringing real inspiration and life to the performance of whatever material is used. Before any congregation, the artist has plenty to do without finding it necessary to think of such matters as to whether or not the diction is good, the personal mannerisms satisfactory, and the quality of the voice adequate. These very essential mechanical things should have been conditioned in the workshop, and the priest should have only the thought of inspiration and final artistic production of his work on his mind when presenting himself to his ever-interested though often critical public.

For example, let us consider, what technical handling can accomplish for "The Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion."

First of all, it is necessary to reckon with the time element in any service. Strange as this may seem, in this modern age, it is quite customary for congregations to expect various religious meetings to last a certain length of time, and it is reasonable to believe that all parts of the service should be kept within a specified time-limit, varying only by some few minutes one way or the other. It is impossible to fix any given length of time for this office of the Holy Communion, as there are many things to be considered, such as processions, incidental music, length of sermon, and the number of communicants who may participate in the service proper. Consequently, each parish priest must ascertain for himself the length of time required for this great feast of the church. He may then designate a certain amount of time for the musical program, the announcements, and extra subjects that must be presented from time to time.

If sufficient attention is given to these matters, it will be possible to include everything of value and yet at the same time maintain the unity and the harmony of the service.

Presuming that all things needed for the administration of the Holy Communion are in readiness, the priest should be up early and take some form of physical and vocal exercise, thus awaking the nervous energy needed for a good performance of duty. Too frequently the officiant waits until he is before the public to clear his throat and to produce tone. Any congregation can quickly sense this situation, for the reason that the voice shows the qualities in a pronounced way, and it is a very simple matter to detect when a person has spoken or vocalized before actually appearing before the public. Often the officiant wonders why there is a lack of response from his congregation, when the real reason for this unresponsiveness is his own careless production of sound, the quality of his voice, and the dullness of his expression. If one

expects and hopes to have a fine response and a good co-operation from the congregation, it is only fair to approach that group of people fully alert, mentally, and well conditioned, vocally, so that the singing and speaking voice is clear and under perfect control. Naturally, this means some added work; but, naturally also, whatever is accomplished successfully in any profession requires much untiring effort.

The priest should be ready at least fifteen minutes before the opening of the service, and this time should be spent in quiet meditation and prayer, in order to have the mind free and active. This quiet period creates a stimulating influence in that it causes the individual to realize that the mind can and will dominate all physical actions if allowed to function normally.

Presuming that the service opens with an organ prelude and a processional hymn, these should conform to the theme of the day. Frequently after such singing, especially if the congregation and choir are responsive, the priest either speaks the opening sentences too fast or too breathy—or not clear enough for any decided impression to be made upon his listeners. This first utterance is the introduction to the "Ante-Communion" Service, symbolizing the three-fold preparation of Repentance, Faith, and God's Love. The officiant should produce a tone of resonant quality and pronounce the sentences clearly and reverently, in order to direct the attention of the worshippers to the Collect of Preparation, addressing "Almighty God, unto whom all hearts are open."

Either form of the Ten Commandments may follow. It is to be remembered that if choral responses are sung, greater time is required for this presentation.

The Epistle and The Gospel, whether spoken or intoned, must be well presented. If read, the priest should be entirely familiar with the content and meaning of the phrases, should use a firm, resonant voice and should strive to make the reading beautiful and impressive, without being monotonous. If intoned, the pitch should be related in some consonant

progression to the pitch already established in the foregoing part of the sung-service; that is, the priest should not wilfully or accidentally introduce a new and dissonant tone for the chanting used in these two portions of the Bible lessons. These articles require good even tone quality, a sense of true pitch and a knowledge of possible inflections adaptable to this special kind of intoning.

The Nicene Creed has its distinct purpose of enabling all to engage in the fuller worship of the Holy Eucharist. Some question arises as to whether or not the officiant leads the congregation. Whatever the answer, if the Creed is spoken it is certain that the officiant must introduce the Creed with a firm voice, setting the rhythm and tempo for its recitation so that all who worship may join in reciting this historical summary of the belief of the church. Reasonable time should be allowed at the end of the principal clauses for breath pauses, and in this way the entire assembly may give an effective rendition with dignity and understanding.

The notices afford the only opportunity, outside the sermon, for the priest to present original material. These various important announcements give him a means of greeting his people with such ideas and suggestions as he may feel are of interest and value to them. Therefore they should be cautiously compiled and artfully phrased in order to lend the effect and to produce the results needed and desired. The quality of voice, diction, phraseology, personal mannerisms, and individual conduct can be deftly handled, provided the priest wishes to study the details of such notices and desires to approach his congregation with suggestions that may be helpful to himself as well as to each individual during the following week.

In the reading of the beautiful and impressive office of the Communion Service proper, varied modulations and inflections of the voice, pure and natural tone quality, clear enunciation, and perfect diction can be put to practice and used with good effect. Emphasis should be placed upon the

full meaning of the text. It is possible to vary the tempo and the rhythm so that the reading takes on added elegance of expression instead of a tedious quality and meaningless flow of words. By observing the laws of contrast and balance, the meaning of the words can bring a wealth of forcefulness and charm of color to the rendering of this sacred office.

The people—*en masse*—should have adequate time to repeat their confession with reverence and sincerity. It seems advisable to manage the entire service in such a way as to give the communicants all necessary time for their parts of the ritual, and should there be any need to conform to the time-schedule, the officiant should recognize this situation and make the adjustment in his reading and singing.

The Absolution, directed to the congregation, expressed in noble diction, and showing the many elements of God's blessing, should bring greater earnestness and solemnity in the tonal quality as well as in the poetic phrasing.

Technically, if the Comfortable Words are to be intoned, the officiant ought to anticipate that melody and pitch even while finishing the Prayer of Absolution. In this manner, freedom of melody and trueness of pitch are the resultant outcome. However, should these Words be spoken rather than intoned, then the priest can just as well anticipate the singing of the *Sursum Corda* ("Lift up your hearts in Thanksgiving to God") while he is speaking the passage, "Hear also what St John saith." Through this act of anticipation, the priest can establish in his mind an idea of the melody, the pitch, and the correct volume of tone to be emitted. When passing from the speaking to the singing voice, the artist can be trained in such a way as to anticipate the one or the other. Through mental control, the voice produces tone either for melody work or for reading, and the individual is relieved of awkward pauses and characterless tone production.

The musical phrases for this important section of the service require much serious consideration. To insure perfect intonation, the harmonic structure of these musical sentences

should be understood. For the most part, they are fragments from the ancient Plain Song and Gregorian Chant of the early centuries, and the harmony alternates frequently from the major to the minor modes. That accounts, in large measure, for the fact that the ritual chants seem difficult to perform by the average untrained person. But when their harmonic structure is well understood, the priest finds it possible to produce good results in a natural way.

Too much stress cannot be laid upon the importance of sustaining the vowels for all singing and speaking purposes. Words and syllables use the many and varied consonantal combinations to begin and end their duration, but the actual time of production is sustained upon the vowel sound. This sets up a series of sound waves that vibrate in such a fashion that true overtones are established for each syllable. Overtones cause a voice to be resonant and durable in volume. By perfecting a series of real overtones, any voice improves in quality and timbre.

After the Sanctus, which addresses God as "Lord of Hosts . . . O Lord Most High," has been said or sung by the congregation, it is wholly in form to begin the Prayer of Consecration with a firm, full voice, saying, "All glory be to Thee, Almighty God;" and from there on to the passage where the elements are presented, the voice makes somewhat of a diminuendo in volume. Pauses may even be used with significant meaning and effectiveness. This is a passage full of solemnity and reverence and the partakers should be made to realize the depth of meaning of "His most blessed Body and Blood," "which is shed for you, and for many, for the remission of sins."

This analytical consideration serves to stress the need for technical knowledge, and what is suggested for one service can be applied and adapted to the other great services of the church, Morning Prayer, Litany, and Evening Prayer. Each service can be meticulously studied and technically handled in all preparation, so that stable habits of thinking and doing

are definitely and securely made. This wide knowledge may be the means of producing finer technical equipment for the priest-artist. Surely the ultimate desire of every priest must be to stir within the hearts of men a desire for nobler living, for finer and truer actions in daily practice, and for a deeper realization of the strength and power made possible through the worship of Almighty God.

REVIEWS

Post-Exilic Judaism. By Adam C. Welch. The Baird Lecture for 1934. William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London, 1935, pp. ix + 312. 3s. 6d.

This sturdy and solid scholar here pursues the history of the origins of Judaism, the foundations of which he has studied in his vigorous and independent books on Deuteronomy. The present volume contains twelve chapters, arranged historically. The first three treat the history between the fall of Samaria and the Judæan Exile; the following three the Exile, Sheshbazzar, Zerubbabel and the Return; the remaining chapters continue down to Ezra and his work. Nehemiah is not included, and a footnote on p. 84 simply states that "the date of Nehemiah's governorship is beyond the scope of this study." Thus unfortunately the writer avoids the current moot question of the chronological relation of Ezra and Nehemiah, and in general the absence of datings in the work may well be object of criticism.

In the course of a somewhat closely knit composition the author exhibits his well known independence. For example he insists on the continuing "loyalty" of the North Israelites (p. 25), proposes North Israelite origin of the litany in Neh. 9 and of Pss. 44 and 80 (pp. 29ff, 39ff), and suggests ingeniously that "the synagogue may have had its dim origin in Samaria" (p. 40). With all his natural independence the writer comes to largely conservative positions, e.g. as to the distinction between Sheshbazzar and Shenazzar (p. 105), the authenticity of the Tattenai documents in Ezra 5 (p. 129); but we miss a general discussion of the genuineness of the official Aramaic documents. Malachi is assigned to the period before the restoration of the temple (p. 113). And ch. II on the "Attitude and Aim of the Chronicler" (a term that is impugned, p. 185, note) is a fresh study of the Chronicler, whose interest in the North, independence of Ezra, and precedence

to the final Thorah are insisted upon. Some longer critical discussions are of value; e.g. of Hertrich's *Ezechielprobleme* (pp. 58ff), and Schäfer's *Esra der Schreiber* (pp. 254ff).

Some comments may be made. On Ezra 6:2ff, it is remarked that "the Persians did not use rolls, but clay tablets" (p. 95). This is contradicted by ancient Mesopotamian practice of duplicate use of cuneiform on clay and Aramaic on rolls, as Breasted (*AJSL* July 1916) and Dougherty (*JAOS* 1928, 109ff) have proved. In the long note on p. 156 the clumsy-appearing "king Cyrus king of Persia" is faulted as indicative of late form; but this very form appears not only at 2 Ki. 8: 16ff but also in the Phoenician inscriptions, e.g. that of Eshmunassar. On p. 43 the writer ignores the proper correction of translation, at Zec. 7: 2, of "from Bethel Sarezzer" to "from Bethel-sarezzer," which is accepted by the Jewish Version and the Chicago Bible. On p. 104 the use of "the temple" for the ruined site (Ezra 5: 15) is properly defended; Hebrew *beth-el*, "house of God," like Islamic *masjid*, "mosque," means primarily the sacred precinct where the deity dwells, not a building.

JAMES A. MONTGOMERY.

Theologie des Alten Testaments. Band II. By Walther Eichrodt. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1935, pp. 122. M. 2.50; bound M. 3.30.

In his first volume (reviewed January 1934, p. 47) Dr Eichrodt began his description of Israel's religion by treating the theme: God and the People. Here he deals with God and the World, his subtitles being: Forms of manifestation of the Godhead, God's powers operating in the world (the Spirit, the Word, the Wisdom of God), Israel's conception of the world and its belief as to creation, the position of man in the creation, the sustentation of the world, the God of heaven, the lower world. The excellencies of the former volume are maintained, and the same judicial soberness prevails. The author continues to show that many ideas taken over by Israel from other peoples were so assimilated and transformed

by its lofty monotheistic genius that its religion remained unique. Here he sets himself against a tendency of the evolutionary school to reduce Israel's sublime religious concepts to the insignificant and even the grotesque by playing up their alleged origin in primitive concepts. He prefers to attribute their genesis to Israel's own experience with God.

A few of his contentions may be cited. He rejects the idea that the increasing significance of the concept of the Spirit in late Judaism goes back to corresponding religious ideas of Zarathustrianism (p. 31); he denies the existence in Israel of primitive totemism (p. 5) and ancestor-worship (pp. 115ff); he argues for a spiritual interpretation of the "image of God" in the Priestly creation story (pp. 60ff); he maintains that Yahweh was thought of from the first as the God of heaven operating in all the world, and not as a localised earth-deity who only "grew up into heaven" (Stade) in the time of Ezekiel (pp. 98ff); he brings out finely the universalism of both J and P (pp. 63f). A good trait of his book is its breadth of appreciation, as displayed by its sympathy for the priestly as well as the prophetic contribution to Israel's religion. Following out his announced plan, a rich use is made of the parallels in other Semitic religions, and the consummation of Israel's religious ideas in the New Testament is kept in mind (though hardly to the extent that might be desired). Above all, the great learning and sound scientific method of the book are infused with deep religious feeling and insight.

FLEMING JAMES.

La Genèse. Fascicule II. Les trois Poèmes historiques: Abraham, Isaac, Jacob.

By D. Devimeux. Paris: Geuthner, 1935, pp. xxxix + 231. Fr. 40.

The writer maintains the necessity of a strictly literal translation, that the poetical composition may be understood and the parallelism perceived. Consequently his work is much like an interlinear version with the Hebrew line omitted. For some purposes such an attempt may be useful; but it is questionable if a literal translation is best fitted for making

the original understood. Idioms of one language are often quite unintelligible when reproduced exactly in another speech; e.g., "Joseph was a son of seventeen years" means only that he was seventeen years old; to translate literally is—apart from a Hebrew class—pedantic, and does not really represent the freshness and vigor of the original. We may call a modern version a paraphrase but, whether we like it or no, it may be much nearer in the true sense to the original than, e.g., Horner's exact translation of the Coptic New Testament, literal in an extreme degree it is in English like no language that any human being could ever use.

We may question also the assumption that a Hebrew could never, or seldom, write without recourse to parallelism in the arrangement of his words. In Genesis 12-50 we have the works of an indefinite number of writers, so far as original sources are concerned, separated by at least four centuries. To assume that all these employed parallelism in the expression of their thought is practically to imply that Hebrew could be written in no other way, a conclusion which Sievers almost reaches. The author musters much of the testimony of recent writers against the Documentary Theory, though he does not reject it entirely; but we cannot feel that he, any more than they, has made good his case, or even shaken the now commonly received view.

Criticism is hampered, however, by the fact that we have not seen the first *fascicule* in which, doubtless, the writer has set forth a fuller explanation of his method; here it seems to be implied in passing allusions that he thinks of the original arrangement as intended for liturgical use. The result, in any case, will be interesting to the more advanced student of the Old Testament.

We give an example, chosen at random, to show the general style.

Et Rachel avait pris les Téraïm
Et les avait placés dans la selle du chameau
Et elle s'assit sur eux.
Et fouilla Laban toute la tente
Et non il ne trouva pas.

It would be unfair not to notice that the writer expresses his conclusions only tentatively, not dogmatically: "*On ne se flatte certes pas d'avoir résolu toutes les énigmes, mais on serait heureux d'avoir dégagé quelques avenues et ouvert la voie pour des travaux plus minutieux où de plus compétents dégageront les allées et les sentes*" (p. xxxix).

F. H. HALLOCK.

An Introduction to the Books of the Apocrypha. By W. O. E. Oesterley. New York: Macmillan, 1935, pp. x + 345. \$3.75.

In a review of Oesterley and Robinson's *Introduction to the Books of the Old Testament* the reviewer suggested that the Oesterley and Robinson shelf in a library would provide a very good working library for the student of the Old Testament. Professor Oesterley has now made that statement still more valid.

This work is a companion piece in every way to the *Introduction to the Old Testament*. It follows the same general form and bears all the ear marks of the same careful scholarship and mature consideration. Better still for the student it is quite as usable and convenient as that other excellent work. Facts are readily ascertainable and the organization makes the work available for reference with the minimum of waste motion.

This organization is typified by the chapter on First Maccabees. The sections of the chapter are headed as follows: I. Title; II. The Original Language of the Book; III. Date; IV. Sources; V. Characteristics of the Book; VI. Contents of the Book; VII. Literature. This last is a carefully chosen bibliography. Section VI, Contents of the Book, is in the form of a brief summary or abstract and its completeness may be shown by this short sample:

"I. Introductory (i. 1-64). Alexander's Conquest of the Persian empire; his death, and the division of his world empire among his generals (i. 1-9), cf. II, Macc. iv. 7."

Beside this detailed treatment of the separate books of the Apocrypha, which makes up Part II, Part I treats of the

subject in general. After a short discussion of the books and their place in the Greek Canon, they are treated as a whole according to their quality as literature, their doctrinal teachings, and their historical background.

The author makes it very clear in his terse discussion that much still remains to be done with these largely neglected works. In particular is this true in the matter of doctrine, and the reviewer, at any rate, is left with the clear impression that much more aid for an understanding of the intertestamental period may be derived from the apocryphal books than had been realized.

ALLEN D. ALBERT, JR.

By Light, Light: The Mystic Gospel of Hellenistic Judaism. By Erwin R. Goodenough. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1935, pp. xv + 436. \$5.00.

This is a long expected, much needed, highly competent investigation of a significant phase of Diaspora Judaism, by a *Religionsgeschichtlicher* who is thoroughly equipped for his task. The author's earlier study of *The Jurisprudence of the Jewish Courts in Egypt* amply demonstrated his mastery of Philo, and his authoritative familiarity with Diaspora Judaism in the Egyptian milieu. It is high praise to say that the present volume more than fulfills the promise of his earlier work in this field.

Professor Goodenough's present thesis is drastic and challenging. It is that the essence of Judaism for a large minority if not even a majority of Jews in the Hellenistic Diaspora, was a mystery religion of a type that was widely current and influential among Gentiles, both in the Near East and in the Occident. The *summum bonum* of this religion was the mystical experience of illumination by the light-life of God himself. Most tersely the peculiar main title of the book epitomizes the craved climax: "By Light, Light." Also the Philonian quotation on the title-page is a longer reiteration of the same idea: "They are on the way to truth who apprehend God by means of divinity, light by its

light." Not at all rational understanding, but mental and emotional illumination by divine revelation elevated one toward the desired goal.

The author is further convinced that this paganized Judaism was no mere philosophy, but an esoteric cult: with initiatory rites, such as baptism; sacraments, such as the sacred meal; and other rituals peculiarly its own. This Jewish mystery cult he is inclined to connect with and hold responsible for the amazing monuments of pictorial art recently uncovered in Diaspora synagogues, notably by the Yale expedition at Dura.

In the current volume the author depends for his demonstrations almost exclusively on literary data, derived primarily from Philo. Considering the superabundance of Philo's literary productivity, it is perhaps not strange that nine out of eleven chapters are constructed from his materials. Every relevant phase of his thought is canvassed. Not alone his concepts of God and Torah and Moses as a mystagogue; but also the mystery of Aaron; and the careers and functions of the Hebrew patriarchs as well. By far Professor Goodenough is most convincing in his long and thorough discussions of Philonian texts.

The data from non-Philonic writings are compressed into a single chapter. Two unfortunate tendencies, not previously evident, here emerge. These writers are not allowed to speak freely for themselves, but are closely categorized for testimony for or against the mysticizing interpretations of Philo. Where that testimony is not clear or considerable, the author sometimes proceeds to argue from silence.

The final chapter, on the mystic liturgy, is entirely a discussion of certain fragments from the Christian *Apostolic Constitutions*, which Professor Goodenough, like the late Wilhelm Bousset, regards as the liturgical remains of a Hellenized Judaism. That these were borrowed specifically from mystic Judaism of the Diaspora and were later adapted to Christian use, is the main point of the author's presentation.

These concluding chapters underscore major problems concerning Diaspora Judaism that are clearly defined by the main line of the author's argument. In the first place, to what extent was Alexandrian Philonism representative of Diaspora Judaism as a whole? Did the voluble and obscurant allegorist of Alexandria speak for anything like a considerable minority of Diaspora Jews—not to mention a majority—in his mysticizing of their ancestral religion? Undoubtedly a certain minority of Hellenistic Jews, such as Saul of Tarsus, shared fully with Philo the yearning for the mystical type of religious experience. But even so, Paul's comparative nonsuccess in propaganda with his fellow-racials, would suggest that this was nothing like a majority group even in the Diaspora. Nor does the total extant literature of Hellenistic Judaism indicate otherwise.

In the second place, extent of influence apart, was the Philonian mystery an esoteric cult with private rituals; or was it an attempt at a religious philosophy? Should it be collocated with the Graeco-Oriental mystery cults, or with the Pythagorean-Platonism contemporaneously current in Alexandria? No one knows better than the student of the history of religions how difficult it is, in the case of religio-philosophical systems, such as Hermeticism and other gnostic religions, to pronounce whether they should be classified as cults or as mystical philosophies. In the case of the Philonian mystery, the philosophical connections are numerous, varied, and indubitable. But the evidence thus far adduced falls short of demonstrating an esoteric cult. Particularly precarious is the appeal to the fourth-century *Apostolic Constitutions* for data of this sort.

There certainly is additional evidence in this matter; and it is equally certain that Professor Goodenough knows it well. Scholar that he is, he will appreciate the suspended judgment of his friends as they await his presentation of different data in this strategically important field. With keen expectancy we look forward to his promised volume on the frescoes in the Jewish synagogue at Dura-Europos.

HAROLD R. WILLOUGHBY.

History and Interpretation in the Gospels. By R. H. Lightfoot. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1935, pp. xvii + 236. \$3.00.

In these Bampton Lectures Dr Lightfoot has practically limited himself to an exposition in English of the Synoptic theories of Dibelius, Wrede, and Lietzmann; Dibelius on the principles of form-criticism, Wrede on the theological purpose of Mark, and Lietzmann on the Passion narratives. Dr Lightfoot's own contributions are confined to matters of detail, and do not even extend to a critical appraisal of his authorities. Wrede's conclusions are, to be sure, modified somewhat, but Dibelius is simply summarized with approval, while Lietzmann is accepted in full, even to his reliance on the very prejudiced and polemical conclusions of Juster. The "background" work, consequently, is unsatisfying. Dr Lightfoot, for instance, shows no awareness of the real reasons to be urged for a special Lukan source, a theory that he describes as "misleading and unnecessary" (page 164). And in his treatment of Dibelius and Wrede he never goes behind them to the vital question: Granted that an account shows evidence of apologetic purpose, what further tests are we to apply before we conclude either that material was created for this purpose or that historical material was arranged for this purpose? No such tests are suggested or (apparently) thought possible, with the result that the writer's faith in the historical reliability of the sources appears to desert him as the lectures proceed. This is frankly revealed in the final chapter, which is quite out of harmony with the assumptions made earlier in the volume. For after dismissing Bultmann as "needlessly negative" (page 44) and accepting Dibelius as his guide, he eventually gives way to a pessimism that goes far beyond anything that Bultmann's most "negative" conclusions can justify. For the Marburg scholar's constructive portrait of Jesus, with all its one-sidedness, penetrates to the heart of the matter and reveals the unique Personality. But it would seem that Dr Lightfoot gives up all hope when he writes on the concluding page, "For all the

inestimable value of the gospels, they yield us little more than a whisper of [Christ's] voice."

BURTON SCOTT EASTON.

The Background of the Epistles. By William Fairweather. New York: Scribners, 1935, pp. xxiii + 399. \$5.00.

Dr Fairweather's new companion volume to *The Background of the Gospels*, as might be expected, covers (though more briefly) part of the ground of the earlier book. It will be extremely valuable for use by seminary students, and its style is splendid, but it is somewhat disappointing. Its New Testament criticism is quite conservative—Dr Fairweather assumes that I Timothy is by St Paul and that I Peter is Petrine in authorship—and while the author has read widely in German, many German and *all* American works on New Testament matters appear to have escaped him. His treatment of James and I Peter as addressed to the Jewish diaspora evidences no acquaintance with Johannes Weiss' work on the subject.

Dr Fairweather is at his best in dealing with the pseud-epigrapha, and he shows the relative inferiority of these writings to the Pauline literature in language and religious concepts. His treatment of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs follows Charles absolutely. He has made some keen observations regarding the Sibylline Oracles, but adds little to knowledge about them.

There is a good critique of Schweitzer and the idea of an *interimsethik* (p. 167); however, he is a moderate apocalypticist and regards the title "Son of Man" as having apocalyptic connotations. He is not quite fair with the Pharisees (pp. 114, 297), and over against his work should be set Easton's statements in *Christ in the Gospels* (pp. 83-108). Dr Fairweather still largely holds the conventional Christian idea regarding the Pharisees.

One wishes that he had been more specific in certain places, as for example when he says that "Paul freely used Hellenistic categories of thought" (p. 195); one wishes also that he had

given rabbinic references for his treatment of the Sanhedrin in New Testament times.

On the other hand, he is quite definite on certain points. The Christ passage in Josephus is spurious (p. 131), although Thackeray and Théodore Reinach are quite disposed to admit a genuine Josephan passage which has been interpolated. He dates the destruction of Jericho between 1413 and 1377; thus the exodus took place immediately after the death of Thutmose III in 1447. Few Egyptologists would be so certain of their results.

The strength of the book lies in the fact that it assembles a huge mass of material and puts it in digestible form. Part iii, chapter 1, dealing with Greek religion is very fine, though it does not separate the original Socrates from Plato sufficiently. His treatment of Zoroastrianism and Parsism is reasoned and sound, and gives a good summary of current scholarly opinion. He has, however, no particular appreciation of the religion of Egypt—it is “in great part a rather unintelligible jumble of priestcraft and an irrational superstition in which magical ceremonies, animal worship, and the cult of the dead played a leading part” (p. 316, *note*)—while the reviewer is disposed to think, in view of Hooke's *Myth and Ritual*, that Egyptian religion had some satisfying values. In dealing with Roman religion, Dr Fairweather dogmatizes on the etymology of *religio*, a point which is hardly settled. One suspects a little bias in the statement that the converts from mystery religions “took with them into the Church magical notions which have left their mark both on Christian theology and worship” (pp. 270f).

The concluding chapters on the “doctrinal background,” while they are more or less tacked on to the rest of the book, exhibit a fine insight into early Christian faith and life, and one can wholeheartedly agree with the statement on p. 380, that “apart from the fact of Christ there is no rational explanation of the existence of His Church in the world today.”

The notes in the appendix are helpful. The proofreader has made slips on pp. 6, 8, 45, 52, 77, 82, and 135.

SHERMAN E. JOHNSON.

Philemon among the Letters of Paul. By John Knox. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1935, pp. ix + 57. \$1.00.

Dr Knox's chief conclusions are these:

Firstly, the purpose of Philemon is not merely to secure good treatment for Onesimus but to secure Onesimus' services for Paul himself. This involves certain emendations of the traditional translation, particularly changing the rendition of the last clause of verse 15 from "thou shouldest have him" into "thou shouldest hold him away" or "thou shouldest give a receipt for him." These alternatives can be justified by precedents for the use of the verb in question, but the reader can hardly help feeling that Paul would have said this more directly.

Secondly, the master of Onesimus was not Philemon but Archippus. Philemon is, of course, the first addressee and Archippus the third, but a letter need not be meant for the first addressee; Dr Knox cites a papyrus example. Moreover, if Archippus was the master, Colossians 4: 17 is explained; the "ministry" he is to "fulfil" is the gift of Onesimus to Paul. This is, however, a very tenuous thread of argument, and no direct evidence is adduced. In Dr Knox's papyrus letter, moreover, the change from the first to the second addressee is expressed by using the name of this person, something that has no parallel in Philemon. And there is naturally no way of identifying Archippus' "ministry," while to render Colossians 4: 17 "Put pressure on Archippus to make him give me Onesimus" ruins the exquisite personal tact of Philemon.

Thirdly, the "letter from Laodicea" of Colossians 4:16 is Philemon. Philemon himself lived in Laodicea, but the epistle bearing his name was left with him by the messengers, to be sent on to Colossae later. But the evidence is no more than an insistence that Laodicea was more important than Colossae, plus a few "may-have-beens." Why so personal a note as Philemon should have been first delivered to an individual who had nothing whatever to do with the case at issue is not explained.

Thus far Dr Knox's contentions have not been convincing. But in those that follow more can be said for the points he makes:

Fourthly, the disproportionate amount of space given to "servants" in the *Haustafel* of Colossians 3:18—4:1 is due concretely to Onesimus' behavior; Dr Knox aptly connects the warning that slaves must not "do wrong" with the same phrase in Philemon 18, and shows how the passage is made more conventional in the parallel in Ephesians.

Fifthly, this Onesimus is the Onesimus who was bishop of Ephesus in Ignatius' day. The chronological difficulty is not serious; if Onesimus were around fifteen when Paul wrote, he would have been about seventy when Ignatius wrote. But much more important is the fact that Ignatius' letter to Ephesus—and this letter only—abounds in reminiscences of Philemon, used in connection with the bishop.

Sixthly—and most important. Following Dr Goodspeed in holding that the first Pauline corpus was formed at Ephesus, Dr Knox claims Onesimus as the former of the corpus and the author of the covering "Ephesians." Certainly Onesimus had the necessary qualities. And would anyone else have been interested in preserving Philemon?

BURTON SCOTT EASTON.

Der Sang des Hehr-erhabenen, Die Bhagavad-gita, übertragen und erläutert. By Rudolf Otto. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1935, pp. 171. M. 4.50.

Many books have been written on the subject of what is probably India's greatest poem, the *Bhagavad-gita*, or *Song of the Blessed One*, and one might doubt the value of another added to the list. But this doubt disappears as one catches the name of the author. Dr Otto has already written not less voluminously than attractively on this subject, yet another volume in the same field is certain to be widely welcomed.

It is needless to say that the author is an enthusiastic admirer of the great story of Krishna, his discourse with Arjuna, and the splendid theophany with which the poem

closes. Some will think that this enthusiasm is a little extravagant when it leads the author to compare the *Bhagavad-gita* with the *Gospel according to St John*. But if Dr Otto sins in this matter, he sins in quite good company.

To the reviewer the chief interest of the present translation is to be found in the critical skill with which the several strata of the text have been separated and displayed. Of course, the whole poem is an interpolation in the massive epic of the *Mahabharata*, but it is not always recognized that the interpolated 'episode' is itself composite. Dr Otto gives us what he calls the *Ur-gita* and expresses his belief that this may go back to the second century B.C. The final form, it is generally held, is probably post-Christian, since some passages seem to reflect a knowledge of the Gospels. But between these Dr Otto places what he calls the *Lehrtraktate*, doctrinal passages (by no means consistent with one another) which imply the several doctrines of the three schools of Sāṃkhya, Yoga and Vedānta.

The German translation is so arranged as to give these various layers of the text, the *Ur-gita* in one kind of type, the *Traktate* in another, and the *Glosses* in a third. In addition to the translation we have included a number of excellent notes and some illuminating *Beilagen* on the meaning of particular terms and ideas. The volume is affectionately dedicated to Dr Otto's old teacher, the distinguished Indologist, Dr Richard Garbe, with whose interpretation of the *Bhagavad-gita* the author is in general agreement.

HERBERT H. GOWEN.

Theologische Anthropologie im Abriss. By Gerhardt Kuhlmann. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1935, pp. 43. M. 150.

This summary of what the author describes as *Theological Anthropology* rather belies the general title of the series 'Sammlung gemeinverständlicher Vorträge und Schriften aus dem Gebiet der Theologie und Religions-geschichte' so far as the word 'gemeinverständlicher' is concerned. For, it must

be confessed, Dr Kuhlmann's monograph is by no means easy to read and even less easy to grasp in its entirety. Perhaps the best idea of its contents may be gathered from the titles to the eight successive chapters, as follows: *Der vitale Mensch*, *Der ideale Mensch*, *Das doppelte Antlitz des Menschen*, *Der Will zum Schicksal*, *Die Offenbarung des Nichts*, *Der Mensch in Glauben*, *Die totale Bestimmung des Menschen*, and *Der Logos der Theologie*.

The treatment of these subjects is highly metaphysical and must be considered against the background of Indian and Chinese (Taoist) philosophy. The general drift will be obvious through the quotation of a few of the more striking sentences, as follows:

"Er ist selbst der Gott, der sein Sein im Kosmos richtig erfassen kann."

"Der Mensch ist selbst der Gott, zu dessen heimlichen Wesen er fliehen muss, wenn ihn die Sorge des Daseins erstickten wollen."

"Der Gott, der mehr sein soll als der Mensch, ist eine Illusion."

"Der Glaube ist die Transzendenz selbst."

"Der Tier Mensch ist der Gott Mensch."

"Der Mensch ist das eigentliche Sein seiner Transzendenz in der Uneigentlichkeit seines Daseins."

And, finally; "Der Mensch offenbart das Absolute selbst. Und da das Absolute mir in seine Offenbarung wirklich ist, ist der Mensch selbst in seinem Wesen das Absolute. Er ist die Transzendenz seiner selbst."

HERBERT H. GOWEN.

If a Man Die. By W. Cosby Bell, with foreword by W. Russell Bowie. Scribner, 1934, pp. xviii + 199. \$1.75.

"If a man die, shall he live again?" Probably no question today receives a less satisfactory answer than this question of Job. Most people, often the same person, meet the question with seeming indifference, stark denial, indefinable fears,

vague hopes, or confused and unrelated beliefs. Modern Christianity meets the question with an unconvincing and uncoordinated "Eschatology (which) has tended to accumulate rather than develop." The answer is not to be found in philosophic arguments, scientific analogies, or psychic experiments which at best lead to a terrifying and sterile belief in mere survival. "The Christian faith in immortality depends" as Mr Bell points out, "upon faith in the Christian God." This statement is the heart of the answer for Christians, and the heart of W. Cosby Bell's *If a Man Die*.

The author states that the construction of a Christian eschatology involves the following: discrimination and interpretation of past beliefs; a conscious and deliberate reserve; the application of the principles, not the mere words, of Jesus; and the use of the principle of continuity. The author has undoubtedly here given the lines which all studies in Christian eschatology must follow. It is with these principles that he has worked out the Christian doctrine of immortality. He does so clearly, concisely, convincingly, with a warmth that only personal faith could impart. He finds the source of our knowledge in Man and in God revealed in Jesus Christ. His insistence on personal immortality is emphatic.

There are but few adverse criticisms to be made of the book. It underestimates the value of the Beatific Vision. The conception of heaven in the past may often have been too ecclesiastical and too mystical; but our conception of heaven must be large enough to satisfy even the mystics and the ecclesiasts, the East as well as the West, twenty centuries as well as the twentieth. The relationship of space and time to Eternity can not be solved as easily as it is in the chapter on "The Setting of Future Life." The chapter, however, does consider several things often overlooked in the problem.

The question, "If a man die, shall he live?" will not convince a reader who has already answered with a prejudiced "No." It will, however, stimulate others, if only to work out a clearer and more unified doctrine of immortality for

themselves. Mr Bell has given us the factors and principles which we must take into account. We are deeply indebted to those who after the death of W. Cosby Bell prepared and published his seminary class lectures in this book.

THOMAS KELLY ROGERS.

Frontiers of Christian Thinking. By Frederick C. Grant. Chicago: Willett, Clark and Co., 1935, pp. 179. \$2.00.

In this short book, which has grown out of a course of lectures to the Chicago Congregational Union, the author covers many fields in masterly fashion. In only one chapter is the occasional element noticeable; and the exposition of episcopacy to Congregationalists is so handled in the book that it, too, fits the more general audience for which the book is published.

Readers of the author's *New Horizons of the Christian Faith* will find little that is new in the opening chapter on the relation of Christian theism to the scientific outlook. Yet it is a good statement of the position that in emergent evolution we find both the clue to the natural order and the evidence of its divine creator, and that the Christian ethic is the experimental extension of principles found by biological study in the natural order.

The succeeding chapters on Christology are more original and suggestive. The appearance in the earliest Christianity of something more than a merely Messianic estimate of Jesus—the experience and the doctrine of the ever present Lord, the spiritual Christ who dwells in the fellowship of the faithful—is admirably set forth, and the author's own Christology, largely Pauline in its formulations, is persuasively stated. The reviewer feels, however, that the necessary condensation of the theme has left him uncertain whether Dr Grant claims that such a Christology is any less historically conditioned, and more final, than the categories he finds inadequate. Another uncertainty is as to the author's view of the relation of the historic Jesus to this "Spiritual Christ."

Along with the rejection of the divorce between the two as found in Catholic modernism are statements at the end of ch. 3 which seem to come very close to a similar divorce. Still another point on which the reviewer would like more extended discussion is the problem of disentangling the reliable historic traditions in the Gospels from the accretions of adoring faith. At times Dr Grant's view seems to be that this cannot be done, since the latest form-criticism reveals the presence of both elements, thoroughly fused, in the earliest strata as determined by critical analysis. Yet later on, especially on pp. 60 and 75, statements as to the life of Jesus of Nazareth seem to involve a greater confidence as to our historical knowledge through the traditions of the Gospels.

The succeeding chapters on the church, Christian reunion and world-fellowship are vigorous, charitable and courageous calls to thought and action on the part of Christians of every ecclesiastical allegiance. Dr Grant's views on episcopacy and intercommunion will pain some in our own branch of the church, but the reviewer is in such thorough accord with his outspoken beliefs and proposals that he can only wish we had more leaders who share the author's views and his realization of the imperative need for action. Here again brevity is probably the explanation of some apparent inconsistency: the primitive Christian "motive of world-redemption," elsewhere correctly stated to take the form of a vivid expectation of eschatological divine intervention to establish heaven on earth, seems on p. 145 to be presented as a plan for social reform. Similarly, in the eloquent final paragraph on p. 153 the hope of the kingdom to come seems to be limited to the horizon of this world, and New Testament texts are quoted in what can hardly be their original meaning.

The last chapter, a cogent plea for the cooperation of all contemporary religions in the world-wide tasks of establishing the international community, with economic security and adequate education for all men, is based on an address to the

Fellowship of Faiths at the Chicago exposition. The section on economic teaching and life is very suggestive.

N. B. NASH.

Concerning Heretics: Whether they are to be persecuted, and how they are to be treated. A collection of the opinions of learned men, both ancient and modern. An anonymous work attributed to Sebastian Castellio. Now first done into English, together with excerpts from other works by Sebastian Castellio and David Joris on religious liberty. By Roland H. Bainton. (*Records of Civilization*, no. xxiii.) New York: Columbia University Press, 1935, pp. xiv + 342. \$4.00.

The burning of Michael Servetus, in 1553, by Calvin and the Genevan Council, was generally approved by the Reformers. But at Basel a group of outraged liberals, themselves of doubtful orthodoxy, composed a lengthy protest against the policy of persecution. The *de hereticis* appeared anonymously in 1554 in two Latin editions, and in German and French translations, with a dedicatory epistle to Duke Christoph of Württemberg addressed by "Martin Bellius." The French version has an additional dedication to Count William of Hesse. In form the *de hereticis* is a catena of excerpts from ancient and contemporary writers protesting against the application of extreme measures to men guilty of misbelief. Among the ancients cited are of course Lactantius and Augustine; among the 'moderns,' Erasmus and men of his school, Luther, Brenz, even Calvin himself. Thus the earlier and more humane utterances of the Reformers are brought up to confound them. Of all the extracts those from the "independent" Sebastian Franck are the most to the point, the most enlightened. Frequently the proper Christian attitude toward heresy is deduced from the parable of the tares.

Prof Bainton thinks that the editor of the entire work and the author of all the sections not otherwise assignable was Castellio, who had earlier come into collision with Calvin at Geneva. Castellio disguised most of his own contribution under various pseudonyms. In the work of compilation he may have had the help of Lelio Sozini, Curio, and possibly David Joris.

De hereticis got under the skin of the persecuting spirits. Calvin stormed, Beza undertook a confutation. But the influence of the book was not broken. Bainton is able to trace it not only in Switzerland and Germany, but in England, Scotland, and above all in Holland.

The Introduction and apparatus of Prof Bainton's rendering are a monument of diligence in research; his volume, embellished with woodcuts, is a joy to handle. Toward Calvin the editor is particularly severe. To say that "he had no liberal period like Luther and Brenz" is hardly accurate. To say that "if Calvin ever wrote anything in favor of religious liberty it was a typographical error," or that "he did not worry about any conscience save his own," is a picturesque exaggeration. Bainton further takes exception to the statement on the Servetus monument at Geneva that Calvin but shared the errors of his time.

This robust manifesto in behalf of freedom of conscience is a document worthy of a place in Columbia's imposing *Records of Civilization* series.

P. V. NORWOOD.

NOTES ON NEW BOOKS

Biblical

The Bible—An American Translation. By J. M. Powis Smith and Edgar J. Goodspeed. Popular Edition. University of Chicago Press, 1935, pp. xvi + 883 + iv + 247. \$2.00.

The four-hundredth anniversary of the printing of Coverdale's translation of the Bible has been appropriately observed by the University of Chicago Press in making October 4th, 1935, the publication date of this beautiful new edition of the Smith-Goodspeed translation. It is printed double column in black face type and the price brings it within range of almost every reader.

One of the most valuable features in this Bible is the section headings. These provide a kind of running table of contents so that the reader can tell where he is and can know what to look forward to. Unfortunately, these are found only in the Old Testament; perhaps the New Testament does not lend itself to headings which would be unquestionably accepted by all readers.

Although the book is not likely to take the place of the older version in the public services of the Church—at least not immediately—it is an indispensable book for the study and the Bible class. One might take any page of the Old or New Testament and show how solid modern scholarship underlies whatever divergence exists between the new version and the old. We have heard one or two persons say that the new translations have 'introduced unnecessary changes.' The idea underlying this book is not, however, to produce another revision of the older English version, but a wholly new and fresh translation—even as one would translate a collection of ancient manuscripts which came to light now for the first time. The result is not just a series of patchwork corrections, but a vigorous unified presentation of the original documents. The New Testament, for example, in Dr Goodspeed's translation has all the directness and vigor of the original Greek—which in most books was the language of everyday life; only two or three books in the New Testament are what one might call 'literary productions.'

It is not very gracious to accept a gift and ask for more, but one cannot help hoping that the Chicago translators will proceed next to give us the Apocrypha in 'an American translation.' Those books certainly need to be presented in modern guise. They are more and more widely read every year and a fresh readable translation based upon accurate scholarship would be a great boon to students everywhere.

F. C. G.

The Ras Shamra Tablets, Their Bearing on the Old Testament. By J. W. Jack. *Old Testament Studies*, No. 1. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons), 1935, pp. x + 54. \$1.25.

Biblical scholars have become very casual about the Tell-el-Amarna tablets, The Black Obelisk of Shalmanezar and the Moabite Stone, yet it is in the discovery

and correlation of such material that the alert scholar finds his greatest joy. To the important documents already mentioned the Ras Shamra tablets may now be added.

These tablets are largely ritual and mythological and are written in cuneiform. Of supreme interest is the fact, however, that the cuneiform is an actual alphabet and contains essentially the same letters as Hebrew, though the language is early Phoenician. Here again is another "missing link" in the evolution of the alphabet.

In this work the author has, beyond giving a great part of the material in translation, undertaken to correlate it with material from the Old Testament, especially the elements known to be early. Many of the identifications are admittedly theoretical but are nevertheless stimulating and suggestive. A. D. A. JR.

Die Psalmen ausgewählt, übersetzt und erklärt. By Artur Weiser. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1935, pp. 252. M. 8.00.

A supplementary volume to the new *Bibelwerk*, arranged on the same principles of giving not only the necessary historical and critical information, but of leading the reader "into the text"; i.e., providing the elements of practical and devotional exposition as well. Since the Psalms themselves are essentially devotional writings, the latter part of the work has here been particularly simple and has reached somewhat larger dimensions than are given it in the other volumes. And concentration on what is immediately useful has been attained by selecting only sixty-four Psalms for treatment. B. S. E.

Proverbiastudien: Die Weisheit und das Fremde Weib, in Spr. 1-9. By Gustav Boström. Lunds Universitets Arsskrift. N. F. Avd. 1, Bd. 30. Nr. 3. Lund: Hakan Ohlssons Buchdruckerie, 1935, pp. 181.

That the Book of Proverbs is reminiscent of all the typical wisdom literature of the east and more closely approximates such material than the Old Testament as a whole, has long been recognized, despite similarities of language and phrase to other of the books. In this work the author has explored the field, not only of Old Testament similarities but also of the great mass of wisdom literature from the east.

Particular concepts have been taken up in detail, notably, as the title implies, that of the "Strange Woman," the "Seven Pillars of Wisdom," and others.

The work is carefully annotated and footnoted and the index of references in the back should prove of value to the student. A. D. A. JR.

A Greek Papyrus Reader. Ed. by Edgar J. Goodspeed and Ernest Cadman Colwell. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935, pp. vii + 108. \$1.50.

Professor Goodspeed is said to have declared at one time that a man, before coming up for his doctorate in New Testament, should read a thousand papyri. If this be so, a candidate for the ministry ought to read the eighty-two here presented. The papyri come from everywhere, and include Christian commendatory letters, contracts and other legal documents, personal letters such as that of a slave girl to her master, an oath of the fishermen's union, marriage contracts and magical papyri of various sorts. The table of Greek numbers and Egyptian months will be helpful, and the glossary is complete.

It would be well to use this book in a New Testament Greek course to supplement Machen or Nunn. One may hope that the editors will also produce an Epictetus reader some day. The process of lithoprinting, which is here used, enables Greek books to be published much more cheaply, and the result is readable and handsome.

S. E. J.

Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament. Ed. by Gerhard Kittel. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1935, Vol. II, Lfgn. 11-14. M. 2.90, each.

The present installments carry the new Word Book down through the letter *la*, and thus complete the second volume. The work, already reviewed in these pages, is simply indispensable for students of the Bible and of early Christian literature.

Philosophy of Religion; Ethics

Speaking of Religion. By Bruce Curry. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935, xiv + 135. \$1.50.

Dr Curry dedicates this book to his daughter and her family. It is a fresh and stimulating presentation of the case for religion in the language that thoughtful young people of today are speaking. A useful distinction between "high religion," which is intellectually honest and scientific and ethical, and "low religion," which is superstitious and unscientific and either unethical or disposed to use the sanctions of religion for base ends, is made in the first chapter and runs through the book. As Dr Curry points out, most of the criticisms of religion are aimed at low religion. If you emancipate yourself from the idea that low religion must be defended, the defense of religion is a much easier matter. The book discusses God, immortality, prayer, the Christian's relation to social questions and the problem of organized religion, and ends with a ringing appeal for loyalty to "High Christianity."

C. L. S.

Church History

A Saint in the Slave Trade. By Arnold Lunn. New York: Sheed & Ward, 1935, pp. xxiv + 320. \$2.50.

Peter Claver was a Spaniard of good family, born about 1581. He was destined for the church from his youth; but after he was professed as a Jesuit he felt that he was called to the West Indies to minister to the slaves and at his own request was sent to Cartagena, on the shore of the Caribbean Sea, the center of the slave trade in those days. There amid unspeakable conditions he ministered to the slaves as they arrived from Africa for a period of thirty-six years, until his death in 1654.

Mr Lunn's book gives a graphic picture of the slave trade in the Seventeenth Century and of Peter Claver's devotion and piety. It is unfortunate that Mr Lunn could not have confined himself to a biography of this holy man without using him as a pretext for expressing his views on contemporary religion.

C. L. S.

Corpus Confessionum. Ed. by Caius Fabricius, Lfg. 29. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1935. Mk. 7.

A continuation of the new encyclopedic edition of the leading Christian confessional documents. It carries on the Constitution and Canons of the Church of England, including the various sixteenth century collections of Articles.

The German Legend of the Hairy Anchorite. By Charles A. Williams. University of Illinois, 1935, pp. 140. \$2.00.

Studies in the Platonic Epistles. With a translation and notes. By Glenn R. Morrow. University of Illinois, 1935, pp. 234. \$3.00.

These are numbers 1-2 and 3-4 respectively in vol. xviii of the *Illinois Studies in Language and Literature*.

The Early Tractarians and the Eastern Church. By P. E. Shaw. Milwaukee: Morehouse, 1930, pp. 200. \$1.00.

This volume, of real importance to those interested in the history of Anglican-Orthodox relations, is now offered by the American publishers at a greatly reduced price. The main subjects treated are: The Tractarian and Eastern theories of the Church; Tractarian efforts toward reunion with the East; the Jerusalem Bishopric; the Russian mission of William Palmer (of Magdalen, sometimes called "Deacon," to distinguish him from his Worcester namesake). P. V. N.

Doctrinal

A Christian Manifesto. By Edwin Lewis. Abingdon, 1934, pp. 245. \$2.00.

The author risks the charge of reactionary by his contemporaries to write this challenge to "modern thought." If there is a danger in running after the new, merely because it is new, there is an equal—if not worse—danger in supporting the old merely because it is old. Dr Lewis avowedly shuns the first danger, and successfully avoids the second. His case is not against the words or forms of those who reinterpret the Christian Religion into modern language. He is occupied in demanding and asserting the meaning and the faith which the words and forms of all ages have sought to affirm. He insists that "Christianity is a total structure, not a series of unrelated fragments," and that historical Christianity must be taken in its wholeness. His challenge is that the modern mind does not necessitate the denial of this historical Christianity; but that the Church and the modern mind both need the fundamental faith which Christianity affirms. T. R.

God and the Common Life. By Robert Lowry Calhoun. Scribner, 1935, pp. xxiv + 303. \$2.50.

This book, by a Professor of Theology at Yale University, is an attempt to reinterpret theology in terms of everyday life. The author is impressed, as we all are, by the fact that people's minds are divided into compartments. With most people today, such religion as they have is in a compartment by itself and has very little organic relation to their actual living seven days a week. That is what makes the impact of the Christian Church on the social order so feeble. What people need is a philosophy—or a theology—that will unify their lives and

put religion in some vital relation with everyday affairs. This philosophy Professor Calhoun attempts to provide through the concept of work. An analysis of the nature and purpose of work is followed by chapters on the individual, on the changing world in which he works, and on God as giving support and meaning to his work. The thesis is worked out with careful attention to detail on a background of broad scholarship. This is a stimulating and suggestive book and represents an approach to the problem of religion, about which more will be heard as time goes on.

C. L. S.

Science and Religion. By M. Bishop Harman. Macmillan, 1935, pp. 175. \$1.50.

This is another of these little books—of unequal value—recently written by geologists, astronomers, physicians and surgeons, to show how they reconcile their science with their religion. Doctor Harman is a physician, a Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons of England, and he has written here a very helpful little book, though he is obviously very thinly equipped on the theological side. Nevertheless, he is reverent, devout and writes simply and clearly. The clergy will find it suggestive. The laity will find in it a good many of the average man's questions answered and well answered.

G. C. S.

God in These Times. By Henry P. Van Dusen. Scribner, 1935, pp. xv + 194. \$2.00.

Once in a while a book appears, so timely in its message, so substantial in its thought, so moving in its appeal that we hasten to cry aloud. Buy it! Read it! Do it now!

This is such a book. It is a Religious Book Club Selection. I should think it well might be, for scarcely ever have I read a book of less than a hundred pages so packed with genuine Christian thinking, so clearly and vigorously expressed.

Its purpose is two-fold, to define the place conceded to God in the life and thought of the times, and to discover the influence He is actually exerting in men's affairs today.

There are three main chapters: "The Message of the Man of Today," "The Message of the Living God," "The Message of Society's Crisis."

For careful analysis, for sound theology, for deep insight into the current situation, for incisive comment, for simplicity, dignity, restraint, and thrust, the treatment in these chapters is distinguished. Then for good measure is added two valuable chapters, dealing with two specific issues: *A Christian Critique of Communism*, and *The Christian and Compromise*. Here is light not heat, piercing thought not passion, clarity not confusion. At the end are suggested readings covering the first three chapters: and an admirable index. What a book!

G. C. S.

Pastoral Theology

Church, Community, and State. By J. H. Oldham. Harper, 1935, pp. vi + 41. 35 cents.

This pamphlet, written by the chairman of a special committee set up by the Universal Christian Council for Life and Work to prepare for a world conference in 1937, raises a number of questions about the relation between the individual, the church, the community and the state as a basis for discussion at the conference.

The problems of the church in a totalitarian state, the problem of the church in a secularized society, the Christian's duty with regard to war and international relations are the principal topics. The pamphlet bears the imprimatur of Dr William Adams Brown and of the Bishop of Chichester, Joint Presidents of the Universal Christian Council for Life and Work. An appendix gives an outline of plans for the conference.

C. L. S.

The Church at Work in the Modern World. Ed. by William Clayton Bower. University of Chicago Press, 1935, pp. xi + 304. \$2.00.

A collective work dealing with several fields of pastoral theology and giving excellent brief bibliographies of the various subjects. The authors are all connected with the University of Chicago. The subjects of the various chapters are: The Growing-Point of Christianity, by the editor; The Local Church and Its Community, by Samuel C. Kincheloe; The Co-operation of the Churches, by Shailer Mathews; Religious Ceremonials and Their Symbolism, by Edward Scribner Ames; The Church as Educator, by the editor; The Church's Work with Individuals, by Charles Thomas Holman; The Church as a Missionary Agency, by Archibald Gillies Baker; The Church and the Social Order, by Shailer Mathews; The Task of the Preacher, by Shirley Jackson Case; Print and Propaganda, by Winfred Ernest Garrison; and Facing the Future, by the editor.

The Little Bible. Oxford University Press, 1935, pp. xvi + 452 + 4 maps. \$2.00.

This well chosen and beautifully printed anthology of Biblical literature is designed for home reading. *The Little Bible* has hitherto been in use chiefly in schools. Features which especially commend it are the careful selection of material, the relative brevity of the passages chosen, the clear readable type, the beautiful illustrations—sixteen color-plates by Arthur Twidle, with photographic illustrations on the reverse of these pages—and finally the modern point of view reflected in the appended notes entitled 'The Divine Library.' All in all this little book is an ideal work to place in the hands of eighth grade and high school readers and it might well be left around where readers of almost any age could pick it up.

An Introduction to the Study of Society. By Frank H. Hankins. New York: Macmillan, 1935, pp. vii + 808. \$4.00.

An excellent and comprehensive outline of Sociology, reflective of the best in recent scientific thought. Free from the hypercritical accent on definitions so typical of the science today, this work is nevertheless sufficiently scholarly and definite to serve as a guide to sociological hocus pocus.

Only in the realm of theology does this author descend from the rare height of pure objectivity which he erects as his standard for science. To the theologian the argument will offer little difficulty; thorough acquaintance with such a work as this will make the answering of questions based upon scientific skepticism considerably easier.

A. D. A. JR.

The Ordinary Difficulties of Every Day People. By John Rathbone Oliver. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1935, pp. xii + 296. \$2.50.

In contrast with his former book which dealt with abnormal people and was intended for the specialist, Dr Oliver has treated some of the difficulties which average folk encounter in their journeys through life. He begins with the babies and concludes with the aged.

The helpfulness of the book lies largely in the accuracy of its descriptions of habits of mind and body. More than once the author confesses that he has no remedy to propose for a particular difficulty. He seeks rather to arouse sympathy and understanding so that when physician or pastor, parent or friend, finds himself faced with the necessity of giving help or advice, he may do so with a better knowledge of ordinary human nature. He rightly emphasizes the part which religion plays in helping people face their difficulties, but to this reviewer Dr Oliver's conception of religion is too narrow. His sympathies in that field lead him to make sweeping generalizations about other methods of religious expression than his own which are not logical nor altogether helpful. What makes the book especially valuable is the wide experience which the author has had in dealing with all sorts and conditions of men. It is well that he wrote it and it corrects some of the impressions that he gave in his former volume. F. A. M. E.

Letters to Laymen. By Charles Palmerston Anderson. Milwaukee: Morehouse, 1935, pp. 64. 15¢.

A reprint of Bishop Anderson's famous 'Letters' to church wardens, vestrymen, treasurers, choirmasters, and other laymen. They are full of characteristic sound sense and good humor, and the price certainly makes it possible to circulate the new edition in every parish. First published in 1913, the 'Letters' have lost none of their value.

The Right Side of the Ship. Philadelphia: The Church Society for College Work, 3805 Locust Street, 1935, pp. 23.

An attractively printed 'Programmschrift' of the group who have gathered together to launch the new 'Church Society for College Work.' It includes the Rev. Arthur L. Kinsolving's memorable sermon at Sewanee in 1928, from which many persons date the renewed interest in college work in the Episcopal Church.

Dictionnaire de Spiritualité Ascétique et Mystique, Doctrine et Histoire. Ed. by Marcel Viller, F. Cavallera, and J. De Guibert. Fasc. v.: Basile-Bib. Paris: Beauchesne, 1935, Coll. 1281-1600.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the new fascicule of the French *Dictionnaire of Spirituality* is the fact that it contains the articles on St Benedict and St Bernard. As a whole the new dictionary is based upon thorough knowledge of the modern literature and at the same time it stands on the side of the wholesome and conservative tradition in Jesuit and Dominican scholarship, which insists upon thorough acquaintance with the classic sources.

Homiletics

Adventure for Happiness. By S. Parkes Cadman. Macmillan, 1935, pp. 312. \$1.90.

One cannot have too much happiness, I suppose, but one can have too many books on the subject. *Happiness* by Hugh Black; *The Quest of Happiness* by C. H. K. Boughton; *Quest for Happiness* by W. S. Sadler; *The Pursuit of Happiness* by D. G. Brinton; *The Quest for Happiness* by P. G. Hamerton; *The Lure of Happiness* by W. C. Loosemore; *The Psychology of Happiness* by W. B. Pitkin; *The Conquest of Happiness* by Bertrand Russell—all these, and many another, contribute to an already rich anthology on Happiness. Why must we have another, by even so gifted and charming a writer as Dr Cadman? He has given us here fifteen little essays on Happiness in its relation to civil government, health, work and wages, love, home, friendship, imagination, music, literature, art, social service, religion, each chapter pleasant enough, but none of any particular distinction. Still—who can tell—many people may pick up this book and for the first time in their lives be led to realize that happiness is born of faith which is another name for vision plus valor; and that “you cannot be optimistic while you have misty optics.”

Each chapter is introduced by an apposite quotation in verse or prose; and an adequate index is provided.

G. C. S.

The Victory of Faith. By George Craig Stewart. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1935, pp. 121. \$1.00.

Too frequently sermons when reduced to cold print lose much of the vita fire which marked their delivery. That is not true of these sermons. In preparing them for the printer Bishop Stewart was successful in conveying to the reader that aptness of touch, that clarity of statement, that vividness of illustration for which he is justly admired. This volume holds a high place in the series of which it is a part.

F. A. M. E.

Preaching the Apocalypse. By Daniel Russell. Abingdon Press, 1935, pp. 254. \$2.00.

Expository sermons are out of fashion, they require study, but these show how it may be done. The plan was to read and explain a section of the Apocalypse and then preach from a text in the passage read. The preface says that the audience liked the method and it is not surprising: the explanations are based on up to date knowledge and for this book no other kind of knowledge is of much value. The author is inclined to think that John the son of Zebedee wrote the Apocalypse but does not insist on this quaint tradition. There are mistakes and misprints on pages 17, 25, and 27.

A. H. F.

Luke the Evangelist. By Wilfrid L. Hannam. Abingdon Press, 1935, pp. 238. \$1.50.

The author is afraid that the search for sources and the study of forms may lead to neglect of the Gospels as separate books: “I fear the scholars,” he says, “when they come bearing percentages.” His aim therefore is to show the art which is

concealed in the third Gospel. His book would make most people read St Luke with more attention to its dramatic skill and delicate irony. A. H. F.

Sons of God: A Devotional Commentary on the Fourth Gospel. By W. E. Lutyens. New York: Macmillan, 1935, pp. vii + 322. \$1.75.

Critical and exegetical commentaries may do very largely for parish priests, but they need to be supplemented by devotional commentaries; and at that, by devotional commentaries that are up-to-date. Canon Lutyens' is one of these. It does not profess to go into critical questions; yet it is always conscious of them, and recognizes that parts of the Johannine discourses, at least, are the musings of the evangelist. One may conscientiously recommend such a commentary to laity, particularly in these days when a reëmphasis of the Johannine literature is needed.

S. E. J.

Religious Education

The Life and Work of Jesus Christ our Lord. Second edition, illustrated. By T. W. Harris. Milwaukee: Morehouse, 1935, pp. xi + 192. Cloth, \$1.75; paper, \$1.25.

A clergyman who is convinced that there is no difference, historically, between the four gospels, may use this book and find it convenient and valuable for religious education. The Fourth Gospel is used without discrimination, according to the old harmonistic method, and the flight into Egypt is taken for granted. There is, moreover, a Peraean ministry. One wonders why Mr. Harris explains that Christ means Messiah, yet does not explain what the Hebrew word means (p. 16). He is not quite fair with the Pharisees (pp. 68, 103). The explanation of the Feast of Dedication, the references to Maccabean times, and to the arch of Titus, are excellent. Religious educationists may find the book "content-centred," but perhaps that is in its favor.

S. E. J.

Paul's Secret of Power. By Rollin H. Walker. New York: The Abingdon Press, 1935, pp. 181. \$1.00.

Here is a book that can be used effectively with a study class. It is a healthy one for Anglicans to read, particularly if they are in the habit of taking religious attitudes for granted. Prof. Walker, who has been teaching English Bible for years, has caught the freshness of the Pauline spirit. The title and the style of the book will startle many as being somewhat journalese, as for example when he says that St Paul had "been compelled for God's service station to come and haul him in"; yet, as the author himself says, occasionally we "need spinach as well as T-bone steak" (p. 100). The book shows full acquaintance with modern religious thought, yet the writer is not taken in by every phase of it; he refers to the "modern type of jellyfish theology, made up of good intentions and fine feelings" (p. 30). One likes especially his restatement of such doctrines as the Atonement in medical and psychological language (pp. 51f.); this is one of the prime needs of the age. He takes parsons to task for their lack of tiptoe expectancy, especially since scientists have it. One thinks, however, that a devout Catholic would not recognize the "deadly uniformity imposed by Catholic worship," of which he speaks.

S. E. J.

An Outline of the New Testament. By Frank E. Wilson. Milwaukee: Morehouse, 1935, pp. viii + 101. 20 cents.

This will be useful for orienting laity to the New Testament. Bishop Wilson places it in its own setting; his work on the background, on the growth of the New Testament canon, and on the story of manuscript tradition, is good. His criticism is somewhat mediating. The Fourth Gospel is an interpretation of Christ rather than a history; but St Matthew was the apostle and St Luke the physician. His datings are rather early.

S. E. J.

The Divine Commission: a Sketch of Church History. By Frank E. Wilson. Milwaukee: Morehouse, 1935, pp. ix + 296. \$1.25.

For the past eight years Bp Wilson's reliable, discriminating, and well-written History of the Church has enjoyed a deserved popularity. The third edition has made an addition here and there and carries the narrative sketchily down to the present. Approximately one-third of the volume is devoted to the Church of England and the Episcopal Church; a proportion not to be criticized in a book deliberately made to fill the needs of the average layman. Full of factual information but never dull, it is a book which the clergy may confidently commend to their people, or better still, use as basic reading in study classes.

P. V. N.

The Psychology of Christian Personality. By Ernest M. Ligon. New York: Macmillan, 1935, pp. xi + 393. \$3.00.

Professor Ligon teaches psychology at Union College, Schenectady, New York. The book before us is an application of psychology to the Sermon on the Mount. The chapters are more or less popular in style and have undoubtedly grown out of a course of addresses. The publisher's jacket informs us that Dr Ligon is at present 'conducting a research project on the development of Christian Personality, based on the hypotheses presented in this book, in connection with the religious education program of the Westminster Presbyterian Church of Albany, New York.'

The material contained in the book will no doubt be useful to many clergymen and perhaps also to teachers of adult classes. The book will not add much to the interpretation of the Sermon on the Mount from any other angle than its own, viz. practical psychology.

It is a pity that psychologists and other specialists who approach the New Testament from time to time do not take the trouble thoroughly to inform themselves of the positive results of modern Biblical criticism. The Sermon on the Mount simply cannot be taken as a verbatim report of a discourse of our Lord nor even as a collection of scattered sayings reported verbatim. The Sermon has been edited not only by the author of the Gospel but also—no doubt more or less unconsciously—by those who handed it down in the course of the oral tradition. What we have in the book before us is really a psychological interpretation of a late first century or early second century document purporting to summarize more or less the public teaching of Jesus; but there are emphases in the Sermon on the Mount (which our author apparently does not recognize) which cannot possibly be referred without modification to Jesus of Nazareth.

The Conduct of the Schools of Jean-Baptiste de la Salle. Tr. from the French by F. de la Fontainerie. New York: McGraw-Hill Education Classics, 1935, pp. xiv + 242. \$1.50.

This little book, full of practical detail as to the teaching and disciplining of large groups of boys, though written in 1695 yet contains some surprisingly modern ideas. It can therefore be read with profit from a pedagogical as well as an historical point of view. M. de la Salle, the founder of parish schools, has been sainted by the Roman Catholic Church for the invaluable assistance rendered by him to the cause of both education and religion.

C. E. H. F.

Biographical

The Spiritual Letters of Dom John Chapman. Ed. by Dom Roger Hudleston. Sheed & Ward, 1935, pp. xiv + 330. \$3.00.

In making Dom John Chapman's letters available to a larger circle of readers, Sheed & Ward have done a real service. In Dom John Chapman we find a rare combination of mysticism, learning, and sound common sense. One feels that he knows not only mystical and ascetic theology, but that he knows human nature as well. The letters are divided into three groups, those to lay people, those to religious, and a group to a Jesuit scholastic. Many of the letters are addressed to people who are suffering from spiritual dryness; but Dom John holds that this state is more common than is generally supposed even with people, not religious, who are earnestly trying to deepen their prayer life. What he has to say about the use of the will in these circumstances is full of value for those who have difficulty in making meditations even if they are not contemplatives. The meat of the book is found in a paper on "Contemplative Prayer, A Few Simple Rules," originally printed in *Pax* and here reprinted as an appendix. The letters may all be regarded as elaborating and illustrating the principles set forth in this paper.

C. L. S.

Reminiscences of a Parish Priest. By Archibald Campbell Knowles. Milwaukee: Morehouse, 1935, pp. xi + 212. \$2.50.

Intimate and chatty random reflections on the vocation and avocations of a devoted priest during a well-nigh ideal ministry of thirty-five years at St Alban's, Olney, Philadelphia—a parish, like its beautiful church building, peculiarly his own creation. The liberal, even the liberal Catholic reader, is hardly likely to agree with all Fr Knowles' opinions on matters of Church and State, but will doubtless find them interesting. There is much in the way of detailed description of the architecture of St Alban's.

P. V. N.

Miscellaneous

The Curse in the Colophon. By Edgar J. Goodspeed. Chicago: Willett, Clark & Co., 1935, pp. 259. \$2.00.

Through a maze of miniatures, manuscripts and monasteries, the clue to *The Curse in the Colophon* leads on until Love and Science triumph beside the tomb of Parthenius. Not the least fascinating to Chicago readers will be the attempt to

identify the pleasant, cultivated collectors who shepherd the young adventurers upon their way. Dr Goodspeed has given us an unusual and delightful mystery.

H. H. G.

Shining Moment. By Virginia Huntington. Morehouse Publishing Company, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 1935, pp. 92. \$1.75.

Out of a truly fine woman's thoughtful maturity, a maturity rich with the experience of a wife, a mother and a world traveller, Virginia Huntington has given us the exquisite lyrics of *Shining Moment*. The title poem presents a breathless adventure in the life of a missionary, but the volume as a whole breathes the mellow tranquility of the Orient, where Mrs Huntington—as the wife of the Bishop of Anking—has long made her home.

H. H. G.

Christendom: A Quarterly Review. Vol. 1, No. 1. Ed. by Charles Clayton Morrison. Chicago: Willett, Clark & Co., 1935, pp. 224. \$1.00 per copy, \$3.00 per year.

The appearance of a new and serious quarterly review of religion, "reflecting the conviction that the Christian Church is on the point of awakening to the responsibility of Christianity for the character of civilization," as this magazine states on its cover, is a highly significant event. It is a successor to the old *Christian Union Quarterly* and the one-time *Christendom* headed by Herbert L. Willett, Shailer Mathews, and others.

The scope and size of the magazine remind one of the *Hibbert Journal*, but the tone, which is predominantly that of American Christianity, is entirely different. Such forces as the present demand for church unity, the Barthian theology, and the revival of interest in liturgical art, all permeate its pages. The Archbishop of York's leading article on "The Restoration of Christendom" gives voice to the demand for the unity of Christendom, while Dr Morrison's article on Peter Ainslie seeks to analyze the stand taken by the late friend of unity. The latter article shows, as few publications have done, the actual theological difficulty inherent in schemes of union. For Dr Ainslie, the mystical unity of Christ's body takes precedence of all doctrines, historical data, and sacramental theories. For many others who are equally desirous of unity, unity presupposes the acceptance of certain fundamentals such as are, for example, embodied in the Lambeth Quadrilateral. These difficulties are not to be resolved in any easy way. Some of the *practical* difficulties in concrete schemes of union are illustrated by Mr Silcox's article on "Ten Years of Church Union in Canada." The vexing question of natural theology, which has divided Barthians, is explained for English readers with unusual clarity by Dr Tillich's article. Dean Sperry in his contribution places his finger on the shortcomings of Protestant liturgical experiments, while pointing a way to the future.

The books chosen for review in the magazine are the outstanding works in their respective fields in the past year. The format and appearance of the review leaves little to be desired. The first issue has set a high standard which will be a challenge to those who will continue the publication. The happiest augury for its success is that the tone of the review is courageous and positive. S. E. J.

The Bible in our Day: A Symposium. New York: Oxford University Press, 1935. pp. viii + 184. \$1.00.

This book of essays comprises the annual messages issued by the American Bible Society from 1929 to the present, and is one of the volumes published under the Society's auspices in honor of the four hundredth anniversary of the Coverdale Bible. The first paper is this year's message, "Coverdale Speaks," by President Wishart of Wooster College, which gives practically all that is known of Coverdale and his version in convenient and digestible form.

The other essays, by representative American clergymen, have the same distinguished character, and contain abundant material for many sermons on the Bible. They are a wholesome corrective for that sort of religious education which would dismiss the whole of the Old Testament and much of the New with a gesture, and make all education "pupil-centred." They are modern, reverent, and full of suggestion and inspiration. If there is any fault in the volume, it is that the Apocrypha, which is an integral part of the English Bible, is consistently disregarded, while the impression is left that the Bible is the *whole* foundation of Christianity, and that the Church had little or no part in the making and publication of the Scriptures.

S. E. J.

The Methodist Hymnal. Ed. by Robert G. McCutchan. New York: The Methodist Book Concern, 1935, pp. 695. \$1.00.

The Methodist Episcopal Church has just published the most recent edition of its official hymnal, an edition which shows many improvements over its predecessors. For each worshipping generation "the people called Methodists" have provided a revised edition of their hymnal. The present work was done by a commission under the editorship of Robert G. McCutchan. The commission constantly held in mind the perpetuation of the Wesley tradition, the varied desires of the Church, the different ages of Church members, the continued value of evangelism, and the emphasis upon the application of the gospel to everyday life. Hymns from former editions have been restored, and new hymns added. Hymns which have been tested through the centuries elsewhere than in the Methodist Church have been introduced. Special mention should be made of the hymns for children and those for use in the home.

The hymnal is divided into twelve sections, emphasizing the various aspects of worship, the attributes of God, the life of Christ, the power of the Spirit, the Gospel message, the Christian life, the Church, the home, the Kingdom, Eternal Life, and special seasons and services. An Anglican misses the arrangement according to the Church year, but appreciates the fine selection of material nevertheless. There is ritual music for the Holy Communion, including a Gregorian arrangement for the Lord's Prayer, Kyries, a Sursum Corda, Sanctus, Agnus Dei, and Gloria in Excelsis. Among the responses is a setting of a theme from Sibelius' "Finlandia," another of the famous Brahms' "Lullaby." We were glad to find Peter Christian Lutkin's "The Lord Bless You and Keep You," and settings for the Te Deum Laudamus, Venite, Benedictus, Jubilate Deo, Magnificat, Bonum Est, and Nunc Dimittis. The book concludes with three orders of worship, suggested aids to devotion, responsive readings, and a lectionary. It is, in fact, a hymnal and prayer book combined.

It would seem that tune and words have not always been well matched, e.g., "We plow the fields and scatter" has been set to St Anselm. Again, the Sicilian folksong setting seems much better than Bradbury for "Saviour, like a shepherd lead us." The tune, Dix, seems to belong rather to "Praise to God, immortal praise," or to "As with gladness men of old" than to "For the beauty of the earth." However, these points are matters of individual taste; and there are any number of excellent new hymns in the book which might well find a place in the hymnody of other denominations. The musical ministry of Methodism should indeed be enhanced by the efforts of the commission which produced the new hymnal. The Methodist Episcopal Church continues to make a vitalizing contribution to evangelical hymnody.

C. B. R.

World Fellowship. Ed. by Charles Frederick Weller. New York: Liveright Publishing Corp., 1935, pp. xviii + 986. \$3.00.

This encyclopaedic volume contains addresses and messages from leaders of the numerous faiths represented at the Congress of the World Fellowship of Faiths held in connection with the Century of Progress in Chicago. It is difficult to make a generalization concerning the contributions, which come from religionists of all conceivable sorts. Some are frankly propagandist, others conciliatory, others explanatory, still others vague in their fraternalism. However, there is material to give one a glimpse into many little-known religions. Since the group was so cosmopolitan, we have on the one hand President Morgenstern, Prof. Hocking, Dean Lynn Harold Hough, President Beaven, John Haynes Holmes, Abba Hillel Silver, to say nothing of leading Muslim and Hindu divines, and along with them the Rosicrucians, Liberal Catholics, Theosophists, and our own Bishop Brown. It might be noted in passing that the Episcopal Church is represented by Bishop Johnson of Colorado and Dean Grant.

S. E. J.